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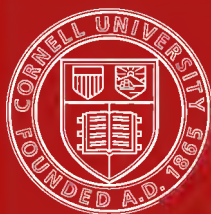
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PROPAGANDA

IN ITS

MILITARY AND LEGAL ASPECTS

Military Intelligence Branch
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INTRODUCTION.

CIVIL PROPAGANDA.

The person who cries "Fire!" in a crowded auditorium, or who starts a false alarm resulting in a panic is spreading a form of propaganda. The results of his act may be such as to lay him liable to a trial for murder.

The person who by gossip, innuendo or other means destroys the credit of a bank and starts a run upon it, is a propagandist and amenable to punishment.

The person who by insinuation or backbiting wrecks the good name of a man or a woman is wielding the same powerful and dangerous weapon.

The collector of bad debts who sends his duns on postal cards or on envelopes of conspicuous nature is carrying out a form of offensive and illegal propaganda. Equally the person who, by false representations, distortions, exaggerations, or suppressions of the truth, booms a worthless stock with intent to defraud, is a propagandist against public and private welfare and comes within reach of the law.

All of these are engaged in activities to which the word "propaganda" has not been applied; yet they illustrate it perfectly. There has been no question of legal authority for the punishment of these acts. Propaganda has therefore a legal status, though under other names.

If propaganda against an individual's reputation, the safety of a crowd of people in a theatre, the prosperity of a local bank, is dangerous to the public welfare, by so much the more is it dangerous when it attacks the honor of a nation, the lives of its soldiers, the fate of its armies and the liberty of the whole people. While few persons would underestimate the viciousness of hostile propaganda, its direct military importance is apt to be overlooked.

In the recent trial of a German-American newspaper editor under the provisions of the Espionage Act, the judge ruled that while the articles cited were offensive in their tone, they did not constitute a violation under the act because they did not give information of military value to the enemy—as if the only way to help the enemy were to inform him! It needs only to be stated to be accepted that misinformation cunningly distributed at home

may be as useful to the enemy as information cleverly conveyed to him.

The Department of Justice, which has become so powerful an adjunct of the military establishment in this war, has been embarrassed in some of its prosecutions by a lack of precedents among judicial decisions to settle the exact legal status of the hostile propagandists as such. There seemed to be nowhere among the charges of the courts any reference to the power of propaganda and its menace. In the many cases in which it has been involved, the charges of the judges have been rather technical than expository of the plain truth that hostile propaganda is an act and a method of war.

A military opinion has therefore been requested, and it is given herewith in the hope of placing the matter clearly before all who may be interested, especially the attorneys who must prosecute the cases; and of showing by various concrete examples how direct and vital an influence propaganda has upon military activity.

MILITARY PROPAGANDA.

The military danger of propaganda is by no means limited to that of the traitor who spreads dissension and discouragement through the ranks, or the coward who with another form of propaganda starts a panic by throwing down his rifle and screaming "We're lost!" as he runs. Propaganda as a means of disabling armies has grown with the size of armies and the complexity of modern warfare.

As the success of armies depends more and more on the scale on which their preparation, equipment and reinforcement are conducted at home, so the enemy in seeking to destroy the base of the army, attacks the army at that distant point by the grand strategy of propaganda.

The giving of military information to the enemy has always been recognized as a capital offense, and justly, but in the recent developments of civilization and the military arts, the propagandist may cause far greater damage to the army than any spy or group of spies. The spy endangers the success of the one body of troops at the firing line, by conveying information as to the plans, numbers, morale or disposition of the troops. But the propagandist attacks the whole army at its base; threatens to cut it off from its base, to stop the flow of reinforcements, supplies, am-

munition, equipment, food, comforts, and above all, to weaken the moral support that sustains the troops in the hardships and cruelties of war far from home.

"Armies fight as the people think," was the wise epigram of the British General Applin. It might be extended to say that armies fight as armies think, for, as George William Curtis said, "Thoughts are bullets." If our troops in France were convinced by certain active propagandists that they are fighting a capitalist's war, and enduring privations and pouring out their blood to protect the investments of bankers, they would not fight well, and probably would not fight at all.

To inculcate this belief among our soldiers is therefore an experiment which the enemies of our soldiers at home or abroad may well make. It is worthy of the expenditure of great funds and toil, for its success would wither the military arm of our nation without costing one German life or one German cartridge. Even its partial success has the value of a destructive bombardment. Therefore, we see this effort made, and numberless similar efforts.

To convince the French armies and people that American troops are brutal, insolent, contemptuous and destructive, or to convince the Italian armies that American, French and British troops are indifferent to their fate, can only tend to cause dissension, discouragement and disruption. Therefore we see this effort made with every ingenious device.

The Germans in their spring drive of 1918 spent hundreds of thousands of lives and incalculable treasure in a vain effort to split the British army from the French. The success of the propaganda of disruption would have achieved the same end without the shedding of any blood or the expenditure of large moneys. Working in conjunction with actual attack, propaganda will ruin the morale, therefore the fighting power, of many soldiers who do not succumb to the shells.

Of equal military importance is the propaganda that disheartens the people at home. Panic works both ways from the middle. Everything that weakens the determination of the people or its confidence in its army, weakens the determination of the army and its confidence in its people. Everything that tends to slow up the military activity or the civilian activity, has an instant influence upon the success of the war.

Propaganda is, in short, a form of invisible, almost inaudible gas attack, either directly upon the trenches or far back of the

line. The Germans, having shown an extraordinary taste for novelties in insidious warfare, have found propaganda a peculiarly congenial weapon, and have developed it to unheard of proportions just as they had developed the secret police to an extent unparalleled in either peace or war, at home and abroad.

CHAPTER I.

PROPAGANDA AGAINST THE ALLIES.

If propaganda had no direct military value, the most militaristic of nations would not give it the supreme importance it holds in the German campaign.

Universal service has long been a Prussian institution. It implies the assignment of each man to the military task he is best fitted for. Certain Germans with no love for America having been prevented by the Allied control of the seas from returning to Germany to fight, have still fought for the Kaiser in the countries where they have been marooned. But great numbers of Germans in Germany have been mobilized in the propaganda divisions, specializing according to their several proficiencies.

DEFENSIVE PROPAGANDA

The first task of the propagandists was justifying the German attack on civilization. Famous historians issued treatises protesting an innocence which the high state of preparedness visibly belied. Diplomats put forth documents throwing the blame for the war on England, France and Russia, and particularly on Earl Grey. Subsequent revelations of German diplomats merely confirmed by confession the guilt which had been generally recognized. A group of eminent professors and scientists published a statement glorifying the military procedure in terms far from academic. Fanatic clergymen called loudly on their God for His blessing on the holy crusade of His anointed Kaiser.

When the atrocities in Belgium shocked mankind, the propagandists retorted by denying that any atrocities had occurred except such as the "Belgian beasts" wreaked on the German wounded. A volume was printed proclaiming the tenderness of the conquerors, and the wolfishness of the Belgian victims, but the author had the misfortune to be condemned later in a German court as a criminal, a liar, a drug-fiend and a drunkard.

Campaigns to persuade the neutral nations, particularly the United States, that Germany was clean of heart and merciful, were carried out on a magnificent scale, and would have succeeded better if they had not been incessantly thwarted by the uncontrollable rapacity and cruelty of the imperial armies and by the

reckless excesses of enthusiasts in arson and bomb-distribution.

Before taking up the details of the propaganda war on the United States, allusion may be made to a few of the most striking methods in use abroad.

CONQUEST BY PROPAGANDA: THE RUSSIAN DISASTER.

The Prussian soul first startled the world by its swift conquest of Austria, but the glory of her generals was materially dimmed afterwards by the disclosure of the fact that the great spy chief, Stieber, had, as he called it, "sowed spies" throughout Bohemia in such numbers that the army found the way prepared.

The next amazing victory was the Franco-Prussian war of 1870. But here again Stieber claimed to have paved the way for Bismarck's success by what he called his secret "entrenchment" of 36,000 spies long before the declaration of war.

The next great Prussian name is Von Hindenburg. Years after his stupendous victories of Tannenburg and the Masurian Lakes, the truth came out that German spies had conquered the Russian court and corrupted the General at the head of the ammunition supply so that the glorious victory was rather a slaughter of powderless hordes than a genuine battle. Later the Grand Duke Michael and Brusiloff and Korniloff saw their superb victories end in disaster from the failure of supplies.

Arnold Bennet has written: "Russian failure is not the failure of democracy. German victories in Russia were not won in the field, they were won in Petrograd, in offices and boudoirs."

Never in the world's history has so great a nation as Russia so completely collapsed. This epochal cataclysm was the supreme triumph of propaganda. The expense of this propaganda has been estimated at \$500,000,000. Compared to the expense of an equal conquest by arms and compared to the damage inflicted on the Allied cause by the defection of the Russian armies and the release of millions of German troops for the western drive, propaganda has here established itself as not only the most efficient but also the cheapest military weapon ever devised.

The Kaiser's propagandists must have taken a peculiar delight in using men as their dupes who sought for freedom from a despot. When the Czar was dethroned and a republic established, the propagandists turned to the still more radical elements and encouraged the Bolsheviki to attack all remaining authority. Russia was filled with German agents in disguise and with purchased Russians who

helped to spread the gospels of disorder. The German soldiers left their trenches to fraternize with the Russians. Soldiers whose Kaiser had held it up to them as a sacred duty to obey his every behest, even to the shooting of their own parents without hesitation, were seen encouraging the Russian soldiers to believe that it was a soldier's sacred duty not only to refuse to obey his officers or to salute them, but to shoot them if they grew too dictatorial. Imperial Germany's conquest of democratic Russia by a propaganda of individualism gone mad, is one of the ironies of history.

Just as honest and as grotesque a campaign was made in the United States, but with only a success of delay. For there have been abundant and convincing proofs of the lavish expenditure of German money in the United States to discourage the movement for preparedness and to thwart in Congress and among the people the growing realization of the need of an army and a navy.

The propagandists failed in this respect in the United States because they could not conceal the deeds of the U-boat and *Schrecklichkeit* partisans, but they have not ceased to do their utmost to delay and thwart preparation and efficiency, propagating in this and other countries the doctrines of non-resistance, pacifism and prostration. They encourage non-resistance to Germany, but resistance to the American law even to martyrdom.

Some of the loudest pacifists have proved to be German agents, and it is certainly one of the most exquisite impudences of the Prussian strategy that some of the most active open allies of Germany and the most persistent opponents of all efforts to prevent her world conquest are zealots who uphold peace at any price, demand free speech while freedom itself is threatened, and fearlessly defend certain clauses of the Constitution against those who are trying to defend the very existence of the Constitution and the nation it constitutes.

PANIC BY PROPAGANDA: THE ITALIAN RETREAT.

Germany's second success with a major nation was the Italian retreat. This was another conquest by propaganda. The Italian army, flushed with great victories and about to move forward to greater, was suddenly thrown into a panic like a theatre fire, and driven in rout from mountain strongholds till it was brought to a stand far back on its own territory.

This Austro-German success was prepared by various forms of propaganda. The large anarchist element in Italy was encouraged

and funded. Religious schisms were fostered. Forged newspapers in the Italian language, but printed in Germany and made up to imitate Italian papers, were filled with articles preparing for defeat and making accusations of treachery.

Among the most contemptible devices ever known for distracting an enemy's attention was the wholesale forgery of Roman and Milanese newspapers, absolute facsimiles of familiar journals but containing sensational articles telling not only that Austria was in revolt and that Emperor Charles had been killed, but also describing alleged bread-riots throughout Italy and stating that the Government, unable to quell them with its own forces, sent British and French reinforcing troops and even Zulus, into the cities and that these foreigners shot down Italian women, children and priests without mercy. It was intimated that the Italian troops were to be recalled from the front lines to defend the civilian populace against the atrocities of the British and French.

Postal cards and letters in vast numbers were sent to individual soldiers stating that their wives were in illicit relation with officers and soldiers of the Allies.

These papers, as well as circulars and postal cards of similar import, were conveyed into the lines of the Italians in multitudes and they were naturally believed to be genuine. It is small wonder that the impressionable soldiery should be infuriated against their Government and its Allies and should be more impelled to seek vengeance at home than across the border.

In preparation for and in cooperation with this newspaper bombardment, the Austrians tried to assume the role of friends of Italy and lovers of peace. As in the Russian case, troops in the trenches were encouraged to fraternize across No Man's Land, and the Italians were assured of Austrian sympathy. Their vigilance relaxed. On the night before the attack, new regiments were quietly marched into the Austrian trenches. They made an unforeseen assault upon the sector where peace had reigned, and pierced the line at a critical point, starting a panic which extended to other points where soldiers whose morale was undermined swept away those who would have resisted. The line gave way at numerous points and the whole structure of resistance crumbled. Germans, Austrians and Bulgarians in Italian officers' uniforms mingled with the Italians and had telephone lines cut, bridges and railroads wrecked and issued false orders to troops, causing utter confusion, which the Austrian armies turned to panic as they dashed forward.

The cost of this in lives and territory was not limited to the Italian army. It deranged the plans of the Allies, compelled the diversion of large forces, and thousands of guns to replace the heavy losses in artillery. It revived Austrian spirit and shook the confidence of all the Allies. Furthermore, it made the Italians themselves receptive to continued propaganda of the so-called "defeatist" brand.

The success of this program was so overwhelming that it has naturally been tried again. Repeated attempts to arouse the resentment of the Italians against their allies have been made by the imitation newspapers.

As late as May 9th, an officer in the Italian army is quoted as saying:

"The Central Empires are without doubt trying to launch one of their greatest peace propagandas. Germany's aim is to thoroughly demoralize the armies and populations of the allied countries and then to attack with overwhelming forces the weakest point on the allied front.

"The Austrians have begun again their distribution in the trenches of false Italian newspapers with faked alarming news, having the object of discouraging the soldiers, but they succeed only in causing irritation and anger against the enemy.

"One of the chief arguments of this Austro-German propaganda is an attempt to convince Italians that America is only bluffing, pointing out the delay with which her promised assistance is reaching the theatre of war. This palpable lie also makes no impression, being scorned by our soldiers, owing to the many evidences to the contrary."

A very recent and singularly petty instance of trickery is thus described in the *Washington Star* of May 31:

"A new and brazen form of German propaganda, designed to destroy the confidence of the allies in the United States, is disclosed in dispatches received here today.

"It consisted of the publication in a German organ of the kaiser, the *Deutsche Tages Zeitung*, of an article to the effect that the recent message of President Wilson to Italy had not been to Italy at all, but to France, but that the Italian Government had substituted 'Italy' and 'Italian' wherever the words 'France' or 'French' had occurred.

"Thousands of copies of this paper then were circulated in France and in Italy, and in the latter country special effort was made to drop copies among troops all along the Italian front, and also in cities near enough to be reached by the enemy's aeroplanes.

"The dispatch quotes the falsified statement of the *Deutsche Tages Zeitung*, contained in the issue of May 24, as follows:

"According to news received from the French and Italian frontiers it appears that there was great unrest in those two

countries and that the Governments, in order to calm the populations, offered the people Mr. Wilson's message as a soothing remedy which was given wide publicity in Italy after introducing arbitrarily sentences, changes and substitutions.

"Instead of 'the people of the United States are glad to find themselves associated in the same cause with the Italian people' the original text says: 'The people of the United States are glad to find themselves associated in the same cause with the French people.'"

"Also instead of 'the people of the United States have looked with profound interest and sympathy upon the efforts and sacrifices of Italy' the original text says: 'The people of the United States have looked with profound interest and sympathy upon the efforts and sacrifices of France.'"

"Dispatches received here from Italy say that this Berlin emanation was received with ridicule by both the Italian soldiers and civilians, who realized that it was unthinkable that their Government would tamper with an official statement of the head of an allied nation.

"But, it was pointed out, the effect of such propaganda among troops about to strike a decisive blow, who had not confidence in their Government or who were discouraged, could easily be seen."

On one occasion, according to a Swiss informant of Carl W. Ackerman (*Saturday Evening Post*, May 25, 1918) the Germans shipped a million copies of an Italian newspaper printed in Berlin through Switzerland into Italy on a coal train. Several hundred revolvers and boxes of ammunition and bombs were sent in suitcases to Italian anarchists.

Preceding the Austrian drive against Italy in June, 1918, there was a propaganda attack. The *Idea Nazionale* of Rome (quoted in the *Literary Digest* June 22, 1918) speaks of it as follows:

"The moral offensive which precedes and is doubtless intended to serve as a smoke-veil and poisoned-gas attack combined, in preparation for a military offensive, has reached its climax. Throughout all Italy there is a renewal of the criminal propaganda which preceded, accompanied, and followed Caporetto. We have the same manifestation, the same arguments, and the same poisoning of the public mind. Leaflets introduced into houses and stores at Milan, proclamations disseminated at Florence, rumors spread in Naples, false news, false documents, false assertions, all tending systematically toward the following three aims: 1. To infuse terror by talk of fantastic enemy air raids against the chief cities of Italy; 2. To show that the destruction of our army is imminent and inevitable in view of the great new offensives represented as of gigantic proportions; 3. To suggest peace as the only means of salvation, inventing honorable enemy proposals opening the way for genuine negotiations.

"To such an extent, says the *Rome Tribuna*, have rumors been flying around, that 'the United States Embassy found it necessary to contradict a rumor that President Wilson had expressed views so contrary to the desires and hopes of Italy, that their

publication in Italy had been forbidden by the censor.' While all this German propaganda is going on in Italy, the Italians take this opportunity of warning the English-speaking press of a subtle piece of propaganda which, the Italians say, has laid hold of the journalistic mind both in America and England. The *Milan Secolo* writes:

"One of the Anglo-Saxon superstitions is that Austria is something substantially different from Germany and that her standards, or political, civil, and moral levels are more akin to those of Western democracy than to those of German autocracy.

"The other illusion is that for a long time Austria has been trying to free herself from subjection to Berlin and contemplates placing herself in the good graces of the Entente by means of a separate peace.

"No one knows Austria better than Italy and the Italians. No one has a better right to speak on this question. No one has so much documentary and historic evidence on hand. We must unmask Austria.'

"This the *Secolo* proceeds to do with great vigor and belabors two English journals soundly for being so gullible:

"Who has espoused the cause of Austria with the greatest enthusiasm? The Puritan and Non-conformist Radicalism of papers like the London *Daily News* and the *Nation*, which in their neopacifistic fervor and their profound ignorance, see, in the elimination of Austria from the war, a way of getting swiftly into touch with Germany.

"It is unnecessary to say that Austria from afar laughs at so much simpleness, but neglects nothing to encourage her old and tried friends, the Ultramontanes, and to dupe her new friends, the Puritans. It is in this light that those speeches of Count Czernin inviting President Wilson to "conversations" ought to be read, while ex-Ambassador Mensdorff meets General Smuts at Zurich and tries to temporize with a little light conversation without realizing that the Boer General is not a fish to be caught in such a net.

"It is to be hoped that after this vain attempt the idea of paying court to Austria in order to separate her from Germany will be abandoned by all the Entente Governments, and that they will all be convinced that the one policy possible is war to the uttermost with equal intensity against both Central Empires—war until that victory is reached which will make possible the realization of the promises given to the subject nationalities of complete independence.

"If the Entente went back on this, its moral undertaking so loudly proclaimed at the beginning of the war, in order to conclude a premature peace which, even if it satisfied Italian aims wholly or in part, still left the Czechs, Jugo-Slavs, Roumanians, and Poles oppressed and divided, it would be little less than a betrayal of the principles which the war has sanctified."

This is peculiarly a war by propaganda. No more important munitions are turned out than the various devices of propaganda. The nation that neglects both to provide itself against hostile propaganda and to fight back with counter propaganda is doomed.

As picturesque as a battle between air squadrons has been the propaganda duel over Italy. The first offensive has been described

above. Italy was caught unawares by the propagandists as by the soldiers. The first offensive was a terrific success.

The second offensive was a terrific failure. Why? Without robbing the heroes in the trenches of one laurel leaf, an additional laurel crown might well be voted to the counter propagandists. Americans had a share in this. This story of Austria's attack and disaster is well told by Walter Littlefield in the *New York Times* for July 14, 1918:

"An elaborate propaganda of treason was launched in Italy just before the Austrians began their offensive of July 15; it lacked, however, that dominating, diabolic co-ordination and artistic finish which characterized the one conceived, developed and executed by that arch-inventor of propaganda, Ludendorff, which brought about the Caporetto catastrophe—transitory, yet none the less painful to the Italian State and people.

"The second propaganda, however, was as abortive as the offensive whose path it was supposed to blaze. Like the offensive itself, it was an entirely Austrian affair. In it the pupil, Arthur Arz von Straussenburg, Chief of the Austro-Hungarian Staff, attempted to rival his master, Ludendorff, in ingenuity. And it is of some satisfaction to us over here that Straussenburg's failure was measurably due to the counterpropaganda conducted in Italy by the American Red Cross.

"It is not, of course, asserted that the Americans produced an intellectual revolution in Italy. Caporetto had already done that. The symbol of 'Savioia' had been repulsed by the actuality of 'Italia.' The traitors had been 'tagged' whether hiding behind the platitudes of pacifism, the red flag, or the cassock. And, fully aware when and where the offensive was to take place, the army heads were fully prepared to deal with the enemy agents masquerading in the Italian uniform and speaking the Italian language, who, with pockets full of kronen, should mingle with Italian soldiers and civilians during the confusion of the first shock—so it had been at Caporetto.

"The army, on this occasion, could take care of itself—did, in fact, take care of itself, as events have proved—but there were the people at home, in small towns and villages, who had accepted Caporetto as a retribution, not as a revelation. In these places the American Red Cross set to work. The ground had been prepared, the seed sown. But it needed the sunshine of encouragement, the rain of faith and of distant help not to be delayed in order to reveal its best patriotic fruit. These things the Americans brought. .

"As far back as the middle of May evidence of their work was sent out of Italy in a letter by a member of the British Red Cross—all the more significant as it sets an example for the writer's own organization to follow. This letter was printed in the *London Times* of May 25—just three weeks before the Austrian military offensive began—and reads in part as follows:

"The American Red Cross, under the auspices of the American Government, has been engaged recently in a whirlwind propaganda campaign throughout the whole of Italy, carried out with characteristic thoroughness and vigor.

"Their officials, assisted by Italian and British helpers, have

visited every commune in Italy, carrying with them a message from the American Nation to the Italian people, together with tangible proof of their friendship.

"They were everywhere received with great enthusiasm, not only because of the gifts they brought, but more especially because they mixed with the people of all classes, talked with them and to them, and made each of them feel that the whole power and strength of the American Nation was with each one of them individually."

"Some day the literature used by Austria in her second propaganda of treason in Italy will form, if preserved, a most interesting literary collection. While the Austro-Hungarian soldiers were starving or freezing on the heights of Asiago and Grappa, or dying from pneumonia or tuberculosis in the drowned lands of the Piave, Field Marshal von Straussenburg was spending thousands of kronen on printing plants at Bolzano and Trent and re-establishing the deserted newspaper offices of Udine. In these places were printed all sorts of publications in the Italian language—some with pictures and cartoons to which the forged signatures of Italian artists were attached. They consisted of newspapers and periodicals, leaflets and bulletins, and illustrated reviews.

"Millions of copies were printed and were at first unsuspectingly admitted as wrappers around parcels sent into Italy through Switzerland. These first copies contained nothing startling—merely pitiful stories of Italy's suffering, the hope that the war would soon be over, and that Austria, with half her population, would not prove inflexible in regard to freeing her Italian subjects. These were followed by others of more pronounced views—still innocently read by the literate guards at isolated railway stations and bridges, who had not seen a newspaper for many months.

"Then packages of them arrived, as though dispatched by mistake, with addresses which had no existence. At the beginning of winter they would have been quickly soaked in a mixture of oil and wax and turned into 'caldoranci'—tapers which keep the Italian soldier's hands from freezing and his coffee hot—but as it was spring they were innocently passed around and finally made their way from the Astico and the Adige to beyond the Po.

"When finally the authorities became aware of large quantities of precious paper coming from Switzerland down the Adige and Piave in small boats which had apparently escaped from their moorings, they made an investigation; just as obviously treasonable matter was being innocently rescued from the waves and distributed. Some, of course, was not innocently distributed, but carried south by Austrian agents, where it was availed of in a hundred ways—perhaps read in the meantime—owing to the scarcity of paper.

"The scope of this propaganda may be gathered from the titles of some of the papers and periodicals: *Il Soldato*, *La Verità*, *Il Gazzettino*, *L'Idea Democratica*, *L'Indipendente*, *Il Corriere di Trincea*, etc. Then there was the *Gazzetta del Veneto*, which was supposed to be printed in Venice itself. Over fifty titles have already been recorded, but doubtless in many cases the titles did not survive more than one edition.

"After the form of propaganda already noted, another succeeded in which England was at first sneered at and then attacked. This was undertaken by a series of publications intended by their titles to arrest the attention of more intelligent soldiers

and civilians: *La Voce del Piave, La Lettura in Trincea, L'Ora Presente, Il Cavallo di Frisia, La Tradotta and La Ciberna*, to mention only a few.

"In the bolder of these England is described as having corrupted the Italian Government—'Poor Italy has become its slave and the unhappy soldiers are dying for England and its insatiable capitalists, but God will punish England'—'Dio punisca l'Inghilterra.'

"Another asks: 'Why should the Italian Government, paid by English gold, force the poor Italian soldiers to redeem their happy countrymen in Austria when other Italians are suffering under the foreigner's yoke in Savoy, Corsica and Malta?'

"One of the papers contains a caricature of King Victor Emmanuel in dwarf shape weighed down with bags marked £ leading a crowd of stalwart Italian soldiers, whose numbers fade in perspective, over a cliff. Under it is the legend: 'Unico remedio, romperla con la perfida Inghilterra, far la pace con l'angelica Austria'—'the only remedy; break with perfidious England, make peace with angelic Austria.'

"Just before the offensive of June 15 the Austrians, not knowing that their campaign of 'education' was already lost and that the paper, as dear in Austria as in Italy, which they had so lavishly distributed, was being put to many useful ends in Italy, loaded down their aviators with propaganda literature. This last effort in print and often in color illustrations paid attention to several recent events in Italy—the danger that their beloved church was suffering at the hands of the Freemasons, the danger of taking the 'reasonable' Czechoslovaks to their bosom, and, above all, the illusion that that aid would come from America. This last theme was emphasized by vulgar cartoons of President Wilson designated as 'the man of many promises.'

"It was thus into an atmosphere more or less depressed, more or less colored by the literature of these specious phrases and pictures, that the American Red Cross penetrated, bringing substantial aid to those suffering physically and words of cheer and hope to those mentally depressed with the horrors of war and the seductive propaganda of von Straussenburg.

There seems to be here a lesson well worth learning in the art of war by propaganda. The Germans have shown marvelous skill and thoroughness in their schemes, but they are always schemes. They have a cruel and tyrannous ambition, and their means of attaining it are colored by it. The pride and delight they take in foul play arouse a sense at first of horror, then of nausea, then almost of cynicism toward the hope of fighting such dirty fighters with clean hands.

But it should never be forgotten that the eternal destruction of German methods is their own internal corruption. They are immensely clever, but not at all wise. They have enormous talent for conquest, but no genius for endearing themselves to the conquered.

The temptation is incessant to fight their lies with other lies; to take up their challenge and become assassins also. But if there

were no other argument against this detestable extreme, its own futility would condemn it. The sunlight is the great antiseptic. The truth is the best answer to slander. The best enemy of tyranny is equality, and the keenest sword against cruelty is the irresistible weapon of mercy.

It is comforting and reassuring to emphasize the fact that the aid given by the American Red Cross to Italy was not only beautiful as charity, but also the very inspiration of strategy.

THE TECHNIQUE OF TRENCH PROPAGANDA.

There is something Satanic in the persistent shamelessness of German ingenuities. Having no liberty or justice to proclaim as a recommendation of their cause, they are driven to lies. No slander seems too vile or too cheap to attempt in the evident belief that each of the lies will find its own congenial soil.

The methods of getting their propaganda into the trenches are many; they are dropped from airships, smuggled into the country from neutral nations, then carried to the lines by spies, or sent over by toy balloons, tied to rocks and thrown over, or even carried across by daring volunteers.

There has been all too much evidence of the military importance given to this mode of warfare of the Germans, but the final confirmation is seen in the following astounding order found April 11, 1918, on a German soldier taken prisoner by the French troops in Italy. The soldier had disobeyed the directions not to take this order into the front line trenches. The reasons for such a *Verbot* are manifest in the order, which reads as follows:

"Two Hundred and Eighty-first Division, first section, No. 226.

"Confidential—Not to be communicated to the troops in the first line:

"First—Following the telephone order Geroch No. 2089, you are asked to intensify with efficacy the propaganda with the enemy army.

"Second—The object of this propaganda is to disorganize the enemy army and to obtain information regarding it. The propaganda must be carried out in the following manner:

"A—By throwing into the enemy's trenches newspapers and proclamations destined for the more intelligent elements.

"B—By persuading the troops by oral propaganda. For that it will be necessary to utilize officers, non-commissioned officers and soldiers who appear to be most adept.

"The post for taking contact with the enemy must be placed under the direction of the company commanders who must be in the first line positions. These officers must ascertain the points where it will be the easiest to throw into the enemy's trenches

newspapers, proclamations, etc. At those points you must seek to gain contact with the enemy by means of our interpreters and if the enemy consents, then fix an hour for future conversations.

"You must then advise immediately by telephone the chiefs of the Information Bureau of the division of every contact with the enemy. Only the chief of the Information Bureau will have the right to direct the conversations according to the instructions he has received.

"It is rigorously prohibited for any soldier to enter into relation with the enemy except those who have received the mission to do so, for fear that the enemy may seek to profit by their ingenuousness.

"All letters and printed matter which the enemy may have on his person must be taken from him and transmitted to the chief of the Information Bureau.

"In these enterprises for obtaining contact with the enemy success depends on the ability with which you operate. Good results can be obtained by calling in a friendly tone and indicating sentiments of comradeship or by reiterating promises not to fire and by offers of tobacco. The tobacco for this purpose will be furnished by the Company commanders.

"Every evening at 8 o'clock the company commanders must transmit directly to the Information officer a report of the propaganda accomplished during the day. This report must contain the following indications:

"A—Has the enemy picked up our newspapers and proclamations?

"B—Have you endeavored to enter into relations with the enemy?

"C—With whom have you had contact? Officers? Non-commissioned officers? Soldiers?

"D—Where and when were our newspapers and proclamations thrown into the enemy's trenches?

"E—All other information on the enemy's conduct.

"At the same time our interpreters will send to the chief of the Information Bureau a detailed report on all conversations they may have had with the enemy.

"The enemy's positions when propaganda is under way must not be shelled by our artillery. They must be bombarded in case of attack. The company commanders must indicate to the batteries the position of these.

"The enemy is perfidious and without honor and it is necessary as a consequence to be careful that they neither take our propagandists prisoner nor kill them. Those of our soldiers who leave our lines for the purposes of carrying newspapers and pamphlets to the enemy must be advised. To protect them it will be necessary to constitute with care special detachments who will mount guard in the trenches and who will fire only on the order of the company commanders who are directing the relations with the enemy."

An almost exact duplicate of this order had been issued nearly a year before at the time when the Germans were undermining the Russian army, and starting their campaign of fatal "fraternization." This order was published in the Petrograd papers and later in the Moscow *Russkoye Slovo* of December 1, 1917. It was an official

order of the German General Staff to the 218th Army Division, First Section, No. 266, and is signed "J. V. D. B. D. K. The chief of the Division (on leave of absence) per Kreinberg, general, major and chief of the 62d Brigade."

It is practically identical with the order quoted above except that in 2 B it advises "selecting credulous officers and sergeants in the enemy troops" and there is later a positive order that "written and printed matter brought by the enemy must be accepted and immediately forwarded to the head of the bureau of information. It is strictly forbidden to open them and, in general, to touch them," and the caution is added, "the success of opening communications with the enemy by the above-described methods depends on the adroitness with which the first steps are made. Shouts will only frighten the enemy, who is timid by nature, and throw the whole post into alarm." The same quaint statement is made that "the enemy is crafty and faithless."

The overwhelming victory achieved by this form of propaganda in Russia naturally suggested its repetition against the Italians, where it had like success.

The balloon propagandists have, of course, taken good care of the American troops as they arrive. Edwin L. James describes some of their recent attentions:

"WITH THE AMERICAN ARMY ON THE MARNE, July 6.—Germany has started to try her subtle propaganda on the American soldiers. On July 4, for the first time on this sector, hot air balloons floated over our lines with an automatic attachment scattering at intervals large numbers of propaganda pamphlets and copies of the infamous *Gazette des Ardennes*.

"One story has a conspicuously large number of surrendered Germans telling our soldiers that the Hun soldiers do not want to fight any more, but are driven on by their commanders. This at the time when our commanders know full well that with their comrades these same men in Germany are about to launch a powerful drive.

"The *Gazette des Ardennes*, dropped over our lines, contained scraps of news culled all over the world, and items most favorable to Germany. There was no mention of anything American, but many items dealing with trading and intended to promote discord among the allies.

"One pamphlet entitled 'Who Really Started the War' contains data blaming Russia and England. Many attempts are made to show that the published facts as to German atrocities were false. It reproduces a picture from the New York *Tribune* of October, 1914, purporting to show Belgian soldiers in the tower of a cathedral which the Germans destroyed.

"Another pamphlet reproduces a large number of pictures and jests of French papers directed against the English. Some of these are ten years old.

"Judging from the reception this propaganda got among our soldiers, it is safe to say that the vaunted propaganda of the Kaiser will do no better against our doughboys than his vaunted guard divisions.

"There is no bolshevik, no pacifist, no irrational idealist among the American soldiers. Their thinking is confined to beating the boche, and they are perfectly willing to allow the political and economic questions to be settled after the war, when there will be plenty of time for such things. Now they have time only for heating Germany."

A type of the material sent into our lines is contained in the following report from General Pershing:

"In the Colmar sector, on July 1, an amusing example of German propaganda designed to induce our men to surrender easily was found. A German plane dropped in our line a postcard reading:

"Soldiers of the United States of America say that we kill prisoners of war or do them some other harm. Don't be such greenhorns. How can you smart Americans believe such a silly thing."

COOPERATION INSIDE THE LINES: "DEFEATIST" PROPAGANDA.

It must be understood that the creators of such propaganda do not rely on their own unaided influence from outside. They cooperate with the elements at home which are always opposed to any war. The pacifists, the anarchists, the disgruntled political elements have worked, more or less unconsciously, hand in hand with the German-Austrian propagandists, from before the outbreak of this conflict.

This is the peculiar encouragement to propaganda. No war has ever been so holy as to win the approval of the entire nation. During the American Revolution, the Tory element was exceedingly large. General Washington often found it difficult even to buy provisions. He almost lost his post as general-in-chief as a result of the Conway Cabal, a form of propaganda. During the war of 1812, politics almost split the country apart, and at the height of the Civil War, President Lincoln had a narrow escape from defeat when he stood for re-election.

In France, England and Italy there are large masses of persons opposed to the national cause. This is equally true of Germany, Austria, Turkey and other nationalities.

These disaffected elements furnish a fertile soil for the seeds of propaganda. They can easily be turned from passive spectators of the agony of their country, to active opponents of its military success.

There is also in every population a certain faint-hearted element that magnifies every check into a failure, every strategic side-step into a retreat, every retreat into a disaster. These congenital pessimists see all of their country's mistakes, crimes, disappointments and failures, and none of its achievements; they can not imagine that the enemy has also his ignorance, terror, error, and crime to dishearten him.

General Grant learned that the enemy was just as afraid of him as he was of the enemy. But that form of philosophy is not universal, and we have constantly to combat the timid spirits and the irresolute. They start panics of their own at the first opportunity and their depression is dangerously contagious. In Europe this form of involuntary treason is called "defeatist propaganda."

In the United States there is the normal percentage of these disconsolate people, also an extraordinarily large number of persons of alien birth or sympathy; and finally a multitude of citizens so used to the air of freedom and so devoted to their own individual sovereignty and their constitutional prerogatives that they will not tolerate any discipline or coercion. These persons prize liberties rather than liberty, and they form a most dangerous element.

Varied as the motives may be of those who refuse assistance or offer resistance to the unified action of the country, they are all actual enemies of the national success. They consume supplies and produce nothing toward victory. They are not even benevolently neutral; they form a garrison of hostile partisans and a rallying point and an encouragement for spies and enemies.

BOLO PASHA AND THE BONNET ROUGE.

Paris has suffered from attacks by Zeppelins, airships, and long-range cannon. It has suffered more from propaganda of every sort. Some of this has been put out under the most clever disguise. Peculiarly odious was the unscrupulous purchase of treason in the Bolo Pasha case. A more contemptible tool has rarely been foisted into immortality. This international figure with the picturesque name of Bolo was a dentist in Marseilles in his early twenties, later a lobster merchant. He stole his partner's money and wife and eloped with both to Spain. Five years later he was in Paris and soon jailed for business dishonesty. He robbed the niece of his landlord of her dowry. He married an actress at Bordeaux and deserted her. He was arrested in Buenos Aires. He com-

mitted bigamy and married the widow of a Bordeaux wine merchant and lost her money in investments.

He later became the friend and financial adviser of Abbas Hilmi, Khedive of Egypt, and received the title of Pasha. He was associated in many ventures with the notorious Senator Humbert, who was involved with him in the use of German money for controlling the *Paris Journal*.

In 1914 Bolo met in Cuba Adolph Pavenstedt, now interned, a close friend of Von Bernstorff. They came to New York and initiated a banking scheme that fell through. Bolo returned to France. He had spent all of his wife's fortune except an inaccessible trust fund. He lived on the income from that, but sought wider fields.

After the outbreak of the war he met his old friend, the Khedive, in Switzerland, and through him the German Minister, Von Jagow, who provided a fund of ten million marks to be used by Bolo to influence the French press for a premature peace, aiming to detach France from England.

Bolo returned to France, where one Cavallini brought him \$400,000 to be used for a "defeatist" and "pacifist" propaganda. Bolo explained to the curious that this sum was the repayment of a loan he had made to the Khedive.

In November, 1915, Bolo went to Switzerland and negotiated through the Khedive with several German agents. The Khedive stated that Bolo represented Hervé, publisher of *La Victoire*, Joseph Caillaux and others, and that Bolo was to transmit moneys to them. The Khedive received from Germany two million marks, which he turned over to Bolo to fund the peace propaganda.

The next year Bolo came to the United States with a letter from Humbert to J. P. Morgan & Co., saying that he came to see important personages and would deposit a million francs to Humbert's account. Actually Bolo seems to have been short of funds, and to have had a credit with a German bank of only \$2,500.

Bolo met Pavenstedt again, and told him that he came to raise money to pay his debt to Humbert and also to buy into several small journals. He began negotiations looking toward the purchase in Canada of large supplies of print paper. He met many prominent men, who were later more or less embarrassed to explain their associations with him.

He protested that he wanted to persuade his bleeding country to make peace. Pavenstedt told him the truth when he said that

no one in America was so much interested in this as the German Ambassador.

After cabling to Von Jagow and many conferences, Von Bernstorff arranged the deposit of sums totaling \$1,683,500. The telegrams and cablegrams were captured by the United States officials. A simple code was used, Count Bernstorff being referred to as "Charles Gledhill," the Guaranty Trust Company as "Fred Heeven," the Foreign Office as "William Foxley." The sums of money were divided by one thousand.

Thus Hugo Schmidt cabled the Deutsche Bank in Berlin:

"Your wireless received. Paid Charles Gledhill five hundred through Fred Heeven. Gledhill requires further eleven hundred dollars, which shall pay gradually."

This meant, "Paid Bernstorff five hundred thousand dollars. Bernstorff requires further eleven hundred thousand dollars."

Bolo invested a million francs in the *Paris Journal*, and he, Caillaux and various newspaper editors kept up a vigorous propaganda to the effect that France could not win and early peace was necessary.

Caillaux went to Italy to spread this idea there.

The activities of these propagandists attracted the lightning of French indignation. Bolo, Caillaux and others were arrested under charges of treason.

The Bolo trial opened February 4, 1918, in Paris. He was accused of communicating with the enemy in Switzerland, receiving German money to further the pacifist movement, and receiving German money in the United States to influence French newspapers, particularly the *Journal*.

He was found guilty. His co-defendant, Cavallini, was also sentenced to death. but was in prison in Italy at the time and could not be reached. At the time of this writing Caillaux has not yet been tried.

Involved with the *Journal* was a paper called the *Bonnet Rouge*, whose directors were also charged with treason.

The *Bonnet Rouge* pretended to be violently patriotic. It was remarkable for a violent chauvinism beginning with its very name, "The Red Cap," meaning, of course, the Liberty Cap of the French Revolution.

Though Bolo Pasha was a propagandist by newspaper and by ingeniously managed peace proposals, the military importance of

his activity was recognized in his punishment: He was stood up against a wall and shot.

The easy transition from such propaganda to actual spying and the gathering and transmitting of information to the enemy is seen in the following excerpts from reports of the trial of confederates:

"Paris, May 3, 1918.—The most of today's session in the trial of the directors of the *Bonnet Rouge*, the defunct socialist and Germanophile newspaper, was taken up with consideration of trips to Switzerland by M. Vercasson, one of the accused men, in behalf of M. Duval, a director of the *Bonnet Rouge*, who also is on trial. M. Germanain, an expert accountant, testified that Vercasson brought from Switzerland 475,000 francs which he gave to Duval. He said that Vercasson's operations appeared to be regular and in good faith, and that he personally benefited to the extent of 25,000 francs from his work.

"The close relation between the *Bonnet Rouge* case and the prosecution of Bolo Pasha was established when Police Commissioner Farallicq, who is charged with the investigation of the *Bonnet Rouge* affair, testified that Abbas Hilmi, former Khedive of Egypt, had obtained in 1916 a complete report concerning the conditions existing in General Sarraill's army at Saloniki.

"A man called Adda, private secretary to Yozen Pasha, came to France frequently and always returned with important military information. The report concerning the condition at Saloniki was full and complete, showing that General Sarraill's army was unable to take the offensive, giving the exact number of men incapacitated by sickness and disease, and the exact losses in recent battles in Macedonia.

"The report was a copy of a document sent by General Sarraill to the French Government exposing the situation and asking for reinforcements. Mme. Lewis, former stenographer for M. Marion, assistant manager of the *Bonnet Rouge*, identified the document, which she typed at her employer's request.

"They were copies of two letters from General Sarraill to the minister of war, two telegrams and a ten-page letter from Captain Mathieu to M. Paix-Seailles, who was suspected in January of having given important military information to unauthorized persons and was tried before a court-martial concerning the situation at Saloniki. M. Paix-Seailles was called to the stand and admitted giving the documents to Miguel Almercyda, another of the accused who died in prison before the trial began.

"Paris, May 7.—Lieutenant Marchand, an interpreter in the French army and an expert in German propaganda, was the principal witness at the trial of the directors of the *Bonnet Rouge* today. He showed the similarity between the policy pursued by the *Bonnet Rouge* and that of the *Gazette of Ardennes*, a paper which the Germans publish in the occupied districts of northern France, using the French language.

"The purpose of the *Gazette*, Lieutenant Marchand stated, was to influence the French population remaining in the occupied districts. Some articles which the censors had prevented appearing in the *Bonnet Rouge* nevertheless appeared in the paper issued by a German agency at Zurich.

"Many articles that appeared in the *Gazette* and were reprinted in the *Bonnet Rouge* showed a tendency to ridicule the

idea of German spies working in France to discourage soldiers and dishearten the civilian population. Lieutenant Marchand pointed out fifteen different press campaigns in which the *Gazette*, the *Bonnet Rouge* and the Germanophile newspaper at Zurich all used the same arguments, cited the same facts, and even showed the same style of composition and the same errors in citation.

"Paris, May 11.—The trial entered its last phases today, when Captain Mornet, the prosecutor, summed up his case for the State. Captain Mornet began by explaining that this was not a press trial, but an affair of treason and relations with the enemy. He said that by conversations about the San Stefano Casino Company with Marx, the Mannheim banker, M. Duval, one of the accused, had been drawn little by little into treason, receiving money from Marx and working for an early peace between France and Germany.

"The prosecutor recited the history of the *Bonnet Rouge*, recalling that one of its directors, Miguel Almareyda, who died before the trial began, had, with six judicial condemnations against him, received 40,000 francs from Joseph Caillaux, ex-Premier, in February, 1914. The *Bonnet Rouge*, he said, had violently defended Mme. Caillaux following the shooting by her of Editor Calmmette in March, 1914. He said that Almareyda had formed a bodyguard to escort M. Caillaux to the courtroom and had distributed cards of admission to the trial of Mme. Caillaux.

"Captain Mornet read articles showing the peace at any price policy of the *Bonnet Rouge*. One quotation was:

"'President Wilson's action is evidently a victory for those who will fight to the bitter end, but war is not won by such victories.'

"The connection of M. Caillaux with the present case was solely examined by the prosecutor, who said:

"Marx is such an important agent of Germany that when the German government wished to enter into relations or renew relations, with the French ex-Premier, who, it is believed, rightly or wrongly, was favorable to it, it sent two documents to the ex-Premier's Paris address. One offered an appointment and the other gave the address of Banker Marx. Both were seized in M. Caillaux's safe in a Florence bank. The first read: "Lipsher not appearing desirable as an intermediary, I put myself at your disposal. I am authorized to establish relations such as you desire." The other read: "H. A. Marx, care of Professor Erbertz, 27 Stoernerstrasse, Berne."

"I think I am entitled to identify the H. A. Marx of the Caillaux affair as the H. A. Marx of the *Bonnet Rouge* affair.'

"Paris, May 15.—Director Duval was condemned to death after only a half hour's deliberation. Marion was sentenced to ten years at hard labor; Landan and Goldsky, two writers, to eight years each; Joncla to five years; Jean Leymarie, director of the interior ministry under Malvy and afterward head of the secret service, to two years, and Vercasson to two years.

"Paris, May 23.—The trial of Sergeant Paix-Seailles and Captain Mathieu began. They were court-martialed, charged with divulging confidential documents belonging to the War Office.

"Paix, who is a wealthy man, was formerly attached to the Ministry of Inventions in Paris, and Mathieu was an orderly offi-

cer to General Sarraïl when the latter was Commander-in-Chief at Saloniki.

"The judicial inquiry, in its preliminary stages, showed that on August 8th last, when the authorities raided the house of Almereyda, the notorious chief of the *Bonnet Rouge* gang, who strangled himself with his bootlace in prison shortly after, they found among his papers copies of five important confidential letters which were sent by Sarraïl between March and June, 1916, to Messimy, who was then War Minister in the Briand Cabinet, and Noulens, President of the Army Committee.

"There were also copies of telegrams from Joffre, then Commander-in-chief, and Briand. Paix admitted that he handed these documents to Almereyda for the purpose of using them in a press campaign in favor of Sarraïl, and Mathieu made no secret of the fact that it was he who handed the papers to Paix. The use which Almereyda made of the documents was to have them copied and sent by one of the *Bonnet Rouge* gang to Spain, whence they quickly reached the hands of the Germans.

"It is alleged that the documents disclosed important information in regard to the strength of the Saloniki army, and had real influence in modifying the direction of the campaign on that front."

Thus we see demonstrated what may always be expected, and suspected, that the propagandist who is zealous in scattering falsehoods is on the alert to pick up truths of value to the enemy. The spy and the propagandist have the same end and ambition.

CHAPTER II.

PROPAGANDA AMONG NEUTRAL NATIONS.

In a war of world-wide magnitude, such a thing as neutrality is practically impossible. All of the neutral nations have their favorites and bet on them. The nearest approach to neutrality is a wavering from one side to the other, now helping this, now that, with a possibility of being swung all the way over to one side or the other at any time.

Propaganda has a vitally important rôle to play here, since the capture or the loss of a neutral nation, however small, means just so much increase of efficiency or difficulty of supply; just so many troops released for the firing line or withdrawn from it, and perhaps the addition of a considerable army of reinforcements or the appearance of that army in the enemy's line.

Germany promptly established her centers of propaganda activity in all the neutral nations. They have been expelled from some places because of their excess of zeal, but in others they have been allowed to work almost as if on their home soil.

Where they are not able to justify the acts of Germany, they devote their energies to casting ugly light on the motives of the Allies. They have accomplished much when they have prevented the neutral from actually declaring war on Germany, or at least severing diplomatic and trade relations.

The position of neutral peoples in a war so nearly universal as this is very difficult. Self-preservation is their first object, and they must keep the future in mind. Therefore, in all neutral countries the opinion of the officials and the public inevitably swings toward the side that seems likely to win in the end.

Many will feel a certain sympathy for the underdog, but the upper dog wins the respect of all, and a desire not to offend him or attract his hostile interest. Once the belief obtains in a neutral nation that the United States and its Allies are bound to lose, this neutral nation will endeavor to curry favor with the enemy, assist him in numberless ways, give him help in commercial affairs and supplies and hamper us.

This has a direct and hazardous influence on our military progress.

THE CENTRAL BUREAU IN SPAIN.

In Spain and from Spain, Germany has carried on perhaps her most vigorous activity. There have been unsupported charges of submarine bases near these shores, and countless proofs of the use of the country as an intermediary in postal and financial transactions. Of Spain as a central bureau of propaganda, there has been no doubt.

It has been important to keep Spain from joining the Allies, and to keep in touch with the world of Spanish America, in which lies so much of Germany's commercial future. The military value of this stronghold makes Spain a Gibraltar of German propaganda. From there she has sent out emissaries and literature broadcast. Even the Bedouins of Morocco are not neglected, and a printing press is kept busy at Mellila, issuing pamphlets for circulation among the Arabs in the French colony with the object of persuading them to revolt, thus compelling the withdrawal of French troops from the front.

In Barcelona the Germans have collected a few French deserters to help publish in French a paper called *Truth*, in which they drag the French Government and Army through the mire. The paper is distributed free to the street vendors who consequently flood the city with it.

Spain is naturally eager to side with the victorious party to this conflict. Germany has spent millions of dollars to convince her that the Allies could not win. An example of her ruthless methods is seen in the work of such German papers as *Deutsche Warte* (i. e., the German Beacon), published at Barcelona. On November 10, 1917, the following article appeared under great black headlines:

"GREAT GERMAN U-BOAT VICTORY!"

"News comes from Halifax via New York that the North American battleship 'Texas' and other units of the North American fleet were sunk by a German U-boat 75 miles from the Island of Guernsey and 120 miles from Cherbourg at the entrance of the Channel, the latter part of September of last year. 11,000 men found their death in the waves, only 3,260 soldiers and 2,585 men of the crew were saved.

"EDITOR'S NOTE: The 'Texas,' 27,400 t., was one of the largest ships of the N. American fleet, and was evidently serving as guard ship for a larger Troop Transport with other units when she fell a victim to the U-boat. The ship was equipped with 10 guns of 36, 6-21 of 12, 7-4 of 4, 7-2 of 3.7 cent. She had four submarine torpedo tubes, engines of 32,000 H. P., and a velocity of

21 knots. She was launched May 18th, 1912, and put in service shortly before the outbreak of the war."

Americans know that the story is false, but the Spaniards can not be expected to investigate such canards. In view of the immense sums spent by Germans on propaganda and the comparatively small sums spent by the Allies, little effort is made to deny them.

When the *Tuscania* was actually sunk the *Deutsche Warte* was not satisfied to publish the sufficiently important U-boat success, nor even to exaggerate the number of soldiers lost. It added the statement that another transport even larger and carrying even more troops was destroyed at the same time with the total loss of all on board. It was announced that the British and Americans had suppressed this news altogether and given out a minimized story of the *Tuscania*'s destruction.

This story was published in Mexico by the *Deutsche Zeitung* and in many other Spanish-American countries. A general survey of the propaganda war for Spain is given by the *Review of Reviews* for June, 1918, in the following resumé of an Italian article:

"The various aspects of Spain's neutrality in the war are passed in review by Signor Romolo Giovannetti in *Nuova Antologia* (Rome). In common with the belligerent countries, Spain has suffered greatly from the inevitable dislocation of the economic fabric. Moreover, while prices of the necessities of life have doubled or even trebled, there has been little compensation for this through the stimulation of special industries, as has been the case with the countries engaged in the war. An added trouble has been a revival of the agitation among Catalonians and Basques in favor of greater independence or quasi-autonomy.

"The uninterrupted propaganda carried on by the Germans in favor of the cause of the Central Powers and of Spanish neutrality has always found an echo with the Spanish people and it can not be denied that the Germans have displayed much greater practical sense in this activity than have the Entente Powers.

"From the very beginning of the war, they organized in Spain a number of active committees, not only for propaganda work, but also for giving aid to those who were suffering from the effects of the war, and this has earned for them the sympathies of thousands of Spaniards.

"Germany has not hesitated to spend money freely; her propaganda in Spain is said to have cost her \$60,000,000. Not only this, but she has sent her best diplomatic agents, her best commercial agents, her best military attachés and spies of all orders.

"Given the neglect of Spain by the Allies, and the prejudices and misunderstandings that already existed, nothing short of an equally active counter-propaganda could have overcome the German influence. But the Entente Powers, placing their depen-

dence upon the personal sympathies of the King and the Queen, have only spent about \$20,000 in opposition to the \$60,000,000 of Teuton money.

"France alone, which was the first nation to understand the necessity for effort in this direction, sent into Spain thousands of copies of propaganda literature, composed to suit the Spanish trend of thought. As almost all Spaniards are professedly Catholic, they were inclined to look upon republican France as a land of Jacobins and libertines, a land that had fallen a prey to anarchy and was destined to a sad downfall. In view of this hostile attitude of the Spanish people, the pamphlets issued by the French treated the war from a strictly religious standpoint. Thus Monsignor Bardrillart, who has recently been publicly congratulated for his propaganda work by the French Government, wrote a pamphlet entitled 'The German War and Catholicism,' which had a large circulation in Spain, as had also the theological study by the Archbishop of Nice, 'France and Germany and the Christian Doctrine Regarding War.' But these publications have had little lasting effect.

"The Spanish press, with the exception of certain liberal organs, has been favorable to the Central Powers from the outset of the war. A country like Spain, exhausted by the struggles of the past century, and longing for peace, for a regenerating peace, offered a splendid field for the German propaganda, and the Germans have not failed to utilize the opportunity given them by the neglect of this land on the part of the Entente."

The situation in Spain is discussed with much detail in an article by Isaac F. Marcossou in the *Saturday Evening Post* for March 16, 1918, from which much of importance may well be quoted:

"No other Continental country presents such a striking example of German efficiency in molding public opinion as Spain. Ask any man you meet on the streets or in a club at Barcelona or Madrid who is winning the war and he at once replies, 'Germany, of course.' Go to a restaurant or a seaside resort and you hear German on all sides. Make a remark in English, and Teutonic ears prick up, sharp eyes focus you—you are a marked man. To quote an Englishman whom I met at San Sebastian: 'Germany has lost all her colonies except Spain.'

"I went to Spain from Italy and therefore had an unusual opportunity to get a contrast in German exploitative methods. In Italy—a nation at war with the Kaiser—the boche propaganda is sly, secret and insidious. Officially under the ban, it works in a mysterious way its destruction to attain.

"In Spain, on the other hand—a country outside the war—the German educational campaign is in full and open swing—defiant, aggressive, contemptuous. It not only assails American character and institutions, but, what is also important to us, it has developed during the last twelve months a bitter offensive against American business that, unless combated at once, will impair our hard-won and none too-secure commercial footing there.

"You cannot spend many hours in Spain without discovering that Germany has 'got over' her message. In the light of the unutterable blunderings of Bernstorff, Dumba, Dernberg, Von Papen and Boy-Ed in the United States, this performance seems

all the more remarkable. Analyze it and you find that the one reason why the German has intrenched himself so firmly in Spain is that he has regarded his propaganda as nothing more or less than salesmanship. He is a past master in the world-commerce game. Good will for his Emperor and his national aims has been sold just like boots, razors, machinery or shoes, and with every selling method known to the scientific disposition of merchandise. The German is a good salesman.

"Why is Germany so keen about having the friendship and support of Spain? You do not have to search very long for the answer. When the war is over she will need an unassailable social and commercial jumping off place. She will have to get in out of the wet somewhere because it will be raining anti-Germanism for a good while after peace is declared. She will require a country where her industry will be a going concern the moment that an armistice puts a stop to fighting. This will enable her to stamp 'Made in Spain' on her wares and dispose of them in markets that will be hostile to any products with the Germanic trade-mark. That mark will be regarded in many quarters as the brand of a commercial Cain. Spain is part of a vast productive scheme that includes Holland and Switzerland.

"Economic mastery of Spain, however, has peculiar advantages. It means a step toward the conquest of the Mediterranean, which would be a powerful link in the chain of a world-wide commercial control and a definite weapon against France.

"Still another and equally vital reason that comes straight home to us is that Spain and South America are closely linked. Though the Latin-American republics are far removed and represent a totally different idea in national government, they still regard Spain as the mother country and take their pleasures and fashions from her.

"If you know anything about German economic penetration you also know that its conquest of trade is merely one facet of a many-sided ambition. German capital is not only the most exacting in the world but likewise the most political. Just as every German salesman anywhere on the globe is a secret agent for his government, so is each step in the development of Teutonic foreign trade inspired by the spirit of 'For Kaiser and Country.'

"Two things impressed me forcibly after I had crossed the frontier into Spain: One was white bread, the first I had seen in months; the other was a German salesman at the little station at Portbou, who scrutinized my fellow passengers—they were nearly all neutrals—with eagle and almost malevolent eyes. These incidents revealed two important facts in Spain today: The abundant supply of white bread showed that the country was eating the bread of peace; the German salesman doing duty at the border proved that the German commercial emissary was likewise a German Government agent. Since there are approximately 80,000 Germans in Spain you get some idea of the army of press agents, propagandists and imperial well-wishers that Germany has on the job. In a population of 20,000,000 they are an effective force.

"There were nearly 10,000 Germans in Spain before the war. This number was increased by the travelers caught on the wing at the outbreak of hostilities, by soldiers and civilians from Kamerun, by the exodus from Portugal when that country went to war, and by many others who came over from the United States to help the cause. No matter where they came from, they began to study Spanish the moment they entered Spain. Here you get one of the keys to successful German penetration.

"Wherever you find German propaganda in Europe or South America you also find an effective line of selling talk. This is due to the fact that German business and politics are so closely related that it is impossible to separate them. In other words, Germany's business is politics and her politics business. The Fatherland always gets a dividend out of the work of her sons.

"With few exceptions the leading newspapers of the country are pro-German, and not for their health. One of the favorite ways of obtaining control of a Spanish newspaper is illustrated by this incident: About six months before the war a certain Madrid journal bought a complete mechanical equipment from a leading German manufacturing concern. No bill was sent. Three months after the war began the proprietor casually mentioned the fact to the German machinery agent in Madrid, who replied: 'Forget the bill! We are in the same cause now.'

"Another accelerator of opinion is that well-known speeder-up of newspaper enthusiasm known as the advertising contract. Though scores of German firms who formerly advertised heavily are now unable to get their products into Spain, their advertising goes on just the same; and what is more important, it is being paid for.

"When Germany captures the little village of X it is spread all over the front pages. Allied victories get scant notice. Under special instructions from Berlin the Spanish Germanophile newspapers play up the submarine campaign. Read the Spanish newspapers without knowledge of what is going on and you would think that the British mercantile marine is at the bottom of the sea.

"This highly organized campaign must be financed. Where does the money come from? Until we went to war a great deal of it was shipped from the United States on credits telegraphed from Berlin. As soon as we entered hostilities this shipment of gold ceased. So much had been sent, however, that Germany, for the present at least, has ample funds with which to continue her work. Any shortage can be supplied from the German banks in South America, which are easily accessible from Spain. If these fail it is always easy for a so-called Spanish firm in New York to send funds to its correspondent in Barcelona, and these funds in turn find their way sooner or later to the German Embassy in Madrid, which is the box office of the whole German movement.

"This whole network of espionage and propaganda leads to one portal—the gateway of business. The Germans in Spain realize that the war must end some day. Even into their brazen consciousness is being soaked the realization that it will not end their way. Their commerce must go on regardless of the result. Nowhere outside the Fatherland—save possibly in Switzerland—is it more important that it should be a productive institution than in Spain, for reasons that I have already mentioned. What is she doing?

"The whole German propaganda in Spain is flavored with insinuation aimed to shake confidence in the Allies. I overheard a German, speaking in German to a Spaniard, make this remark:

" 'Isn't it too bad that there is so much discord among the Allies? It is a well-known fact that France is already angry because the Americans are not fighting. Pershing and Haig have had a serious disagreement about policy. There is no harmony.'

"A favorite German innuendo relates to what is alleged to be the friction between England and France. As in Italy, the

effort is made to create an impression that the United States is being used to save the face of the Allies. The pro-German press prints this libel, and millions of the people believe what they read.

"All the Allies are in the same boat. France is pictured as preparing to follow the Napoleonic invasion of the Peninsula; Portugal is to annex several provinces in the west; Great Britain is to inaugurate a campaign of conquest from Gibraltar. It is all grist in the mill of misinformation.

"Uncle Sam and John Bull are pilloried side by side. The Germans continually harp on the British possession of Gibraltar, using the cry 'Gibraltar for the Spanish!' They refer to us as 'Yankee despoilers.'

"Here is a characteristic example of how the German seeks to poison the Spanish mind against the United States: A few months before I reached Spain there appeared in the Madrid *A B C*, the leading metropolitan pro-German newspaper, a special dispatch from its correspondent in New York. It stated in substance that in the effort to stimulate recruiting the United States Government had displayed a machine gun captured from the Spanish in Cuba in front of a recruiting office in New York City. The article further stated that this gun stood on a Spanish flag and bore a placard saying: 'Enlist for the war. Remember the Maine and Spain!'

"Of course this article created widespread indignation. The situation became so acute that Ambassador Willard cabled to the State Department and got an official denial of the incident, which was printed in friendly journals. The *A B C*, however, refused to publish it. Like most other corrections, however, it had no effect. The damaging item is always the one that is read and remembered.

"This incident shows how bitter is the anti-American campaign and to what extent the Germans will go. The article was signed by the regular New York correspondent of the *A B C* and was presumably a cablegram. If the United States Government permits such matter to be passed there is something wrong with the censorship.

"Attacks on President Wilson appear almost daily in the press. Let me present three extracts from *La Tribuna* of Madrid, one of the leading pro-German publications. The first, which deals with the President's reply to the Pope's peace offer, is as follows:

"In my last article I gave a brief account of the horrible crime committed by Wilson against Nicaragua. If this were not more than enough to show that the Yankee President is disqualified in law and in equity to speak to us Europeans in such words as he uses in his answer to the Pope—if the moral opinion of the world had not been excited against the cynicism and unequaled perversities of Wilson, who, though on trial for *lèse-humanité*, has tried to constitute himself the judge of Europe and America, unfortunately there still exist, to the shame of humanity and the dishonor of civilization, other monstrous deeds done by Wilson, against which the world has not protested. * * * No; we must tear the mask from the hypocrite, Wilson.'

"The second is equally vituperative, and reads:

"After having carefully examined the sinister chapters of Yankee Imperialistic History, each and every one of which is a crime whose principal author is the actual President Wilson, our heart rebels against this man, against this Puritan who has the barefaced insolence to appear as a mediator between nations.

This is his rôle in his speeches and proclamations, but his deeds are those of brute force, of war without quarter, of inconceivable extermination and devastation. Blushing at the sight of the repulsive creature, we ask ourselves the question whether the moral sense of humanity has been perverted when it listens to the words of the false and evil Wilson.'

"Next comes this pleasantry, which deals with our 'crime in Mexico':

"Is there a reader in Spain who does not know that Mexico has for long years been to the utmost a victim of the United States? California, Texas and other Aztec lands bear continual witness to this. And the devastation and affliction of the Mexican Republic in these last years, from the fall of Porfirio Diaz till the nomination of Carranza—who can doubt that these lie heavily on the conscience of Wilson? * * *

"And we feel that in the hour of death Wilson's last vision will be that of Mexico in ruins through his guilt, a desert and a graveyard; he may close his eyes, he may try to brush aside with his trembling hand the horrible picture; nevertheless he will see the ruins of smoking towns, temples profaned and starving cities! He will see pass the long procession of the murdered dead, he will hear the wails of widows and suffering orphans, of violated nuns and virgins, he will hear the sobbing cries of a whole nation suffering in a Yankee holocaust.'

"Germany leaves no ground uncovered. All visitors to Spain of Allied citizenship are watched from the moment they arrive. They are under the eye of a chain of agents who are in close and continuous communication. Many of these agents ride on the trains, sharing compartments with neutrals or enemy aliens, pilfering packages and opening baggage whenever possible. I speak from personal experience, because I was under scrutiny from the time I crossed the frontier until I left. On two occasions one of my bags was opened. Fortunately all my papers were elsewhere.

"Every hotel of any consequence in the larger cities has in its employ at least one member of the German espionage organization. Sometimes he masquerades as a guide attached to the hotel staff, who is employed by the guests. In this way he finds out who they are and what they are doing. In the majority of cases, however, he is a porter or a waiter. As porter he has access to the baggage. * * *

"What we need most in Spain today are live and sophisticated propagandists in the shape of energetic Americans who can speak Spanish and who can convince the Spaniard through the quality of their goods and the efficiency of their selling methods that his business bread in the future should be buttered with the Uncle Sam article instead of the Kaiser's brand. Like nearly everything else in this world it gets down to salesmanship."

The New York *Herald* of July 7, 1918, contained an interesting account of other forms of German propaganda from Spain:

"Ever since the beginning of the war and especially since the United States entered the conflict the German propaganda mills have been working overtime in Spain and have fairly deluged that country with literature, picture post cards, picture pamphlets and posters as well as inspired newspaper articles designed to excite anti-Ally feeling and to arouse a tremendous respect and fear of Germany among the Spanish people.

"No part of the population is overlooked in these appeals. Even the children have their share, and a considerable one at that, in the far reaching designs of the German propagandists.

"Ostensibly for the amusement of children, little picture books by the hundreds are issued by German publishers in Spain. The subjects of these books are all connected with the war. The pamphlets are made up of a series of gaudily colored cartoons such as would appeal to children because of their bright colors and the grotesque and exaggerated figures in the compositions.

"Naturally what a child looks at and likes the parent examines, and the parent then discovers that the bright colored little book is not a child's volume at all. Instead it is an anti-Ally document filled from cover to cover with scurrilous and often indecent cartoons which set forth the sins of the Allies in the past and present the different members of the allied group as infinitely more grasping and imperialistic than the sainted Germany.

"One series of such little books, called 'Kings Without Crowns,' shows the monarchs of the world who have been deprived of their power either temporarily or for all time by the march of events. John Bull is shown holding a pistol at Constantine's head with France assisting. In this volume the noble and disinterested Constantine is pictured as refusing the gold of the piglike John Bull. Later Constantine is seen leaving his kingdom, while the overbearing John Bull bullies him off the scene, the crown of Constantine under his arm.

"On the cover of the Belgium book King Albert is pictured wearing tights and a military hat and bearing a lantern like Diogenes in his search for an honest man. On one page of this volume the innocent German soldiers are shown advancing into Belgium on their entirely peaceful mission, in which they are interrupted by wicked Belgian snipers. On the opposite page, to show that Germany has always been the misunderstood victim of the countries she has invaded, the Russian Cossacks are pictured riding down the German population. On the last page, in order to drive home to the Spanish people the lesson that although Germany is always good, well intentioned and long suffering, she insists on her rights in the end, a picture is shown of a beautiful and healthy German soldier kicking King Albert out of Belgium while his crown falls off his head.

"This last picture is by way of a gentle hint to Spain on what may happen to any country which is too fussy about German invasion.

"In the Serbian book John Bull is shown lurking behind a curtain with Peter of Serbia during the commission of the crime of Sarajevo. Just to throw a little bouquet at an ally, the German cartoonist has depicted a beautiful gold and white Austrian soldier pulling King Peter by the ear and wielding a very long whip in the next picture.

"Nicholas of Montenegro having dared to defy the glorious Teutonic armies next comes under the heel of their boot and John Bull is shown yelling 'Murder!' and 'Fire!' in the picture when Nicholas waves the peace flag at the Teutonic powers. In the last picture Nicholas is led away in chains, with Great Britain and France as his captors.

"Ferdinand of Roumania, having chosen to clean John Bull's boots next feels the wrath of the all powerful German, and later is seen leaving his kingdom as a vagabond while the allies sneer at him from the side lines.

"In the last book of kings John Bull is shown digging the Tsar's grave, and in the last picture the Tsar, in patched garments, is leaving the scene while England and France look on smiling.

"These little volumes and many of a like kind are meant to appeal to people who do not know how to read or do not care to do so and who can assimilate ideas much more readily from pictures.

"Another class of propagandist literature meant for persons who are fond of reading but not particularly discriminating is in the form of novelettes. These are, in fact, stories having plots, love interest, adventure interest, plenty of action and sentimental or exciting dialogue like ordinary stories, but underlying the romance or adventure there is the propaganda. The hero must usually be a Teuton and the heroine Spanish or the hero Spanish and the heroine German. Necessarily the villainous characters of the piece are members of one of the allied nations, and the story as a whole is based on a plot which displays the cupidity, cruelty, ignorance and generally ignoble qualities of the British, French, Italians or Americans.

"Uncle Sam's imperialism as shown in Puerto Rico and the Philippines and in the operation of the Monroe Doctrine is much dwelt upon and the Allies are pictured in black face standing in a pool of the mud of conquest as an arraignment of their imperialistic tendencies.

"An example of the articles inspired by the German propagandists published in some of the Spanish newspapers bitterly derides the help furnished to the Allies by the United States:

"France awaits the help of the Yankees with her eyes on the Atlantic Ocean from where the modern argonauts are coming, the warriors that will start a new phase in the great human tragedy and will decide the future of humanity.

"They come with the feelings of the new Redeemer, disposed to fight for justice's sake, and for the rights of the oppressed natives; they come to redeem the unredeemed cities, to put an end to the hegemony of the seas that only one country unjustly exercises, and to transform, with one blow, the map of the world.

"The hand that moves the small pieces of the international chess game is already without pulse and tremulous and abandons to their own resources the people that she drew toward the hecatomb to serve her avarice, while she, even yet in her last agony, wants to sacrifice another nation; subjugated by her ambitions, giving her liberty in compensation for her generous blood—oh, the defender of the weak!

"It seems her star moves to eclipse; the mists that surround her become thicker, hiding her light; perhaps some design of God is going to be fulfilled, of God whose divine justice wishes to overthrow the haughtiness of the most powerful nation in the world. The Iberian lion, waking from its lethargy, rises up to be able to watch the fall of that nation's arrogance and to listen to the songs of the redemption of mankind.

"Late they arrive, these legions of rescuers from over the sea. It seems that when they arrive in Europe they will take the form of flocks of vultures allured by the smell of dead flesh, who come to scratch in foreign lands, perhaps thinking to get some small piece with which to satisfy their insatiable covetousness under the hypocrite mask of humanitarianism—completely false.

"Come they will, but late, when their only mission will be to sit at the table where the banquet of coming peace is held to exact the presidency of honor; then they will like to be the first."

"The hand of the Teuton also is discoverable in the following comment on American conditions published in a Spanish journal:

"The telegram (referring to alleged "Yankee propaganda") says that the number of men being instructed in camps, already prepared to be sent into France, reaches 1,600,000, and that this will be doubled within the year.

"It is opportune to know that since the month of September only 640,000 men have received instruction to be sent to France. *The World* of January 11 stated that 480,000 men were in the camps. The rest is probably fictitious.

"To send an army of 1,500,000 men the Americans lack not alone the ships to transport them but food to maintain them in Europe. Under these circumstances, and in view of the scarcity of food in England and France, these two nations preferred, given the impossibility of America's sending both troops and food, to have food only.'"

From Spain the Germans have conducted an elaborate campaign for all of Spanish-America. They have been aided by the large numbers of Germans who have settled in the countries of Spanish affiliation, but have retained their devotion to the Vaterland. With these missionaries, the central bureaus have kept in close touch by wireless and by smuggled mail and freight. They have been particularly effective in Mexico for many reasons.

MEXICO.

The tension between Mexican interests and those of the United States was extreme long before this war. Since our troops went into Mexico under General Pershing, the situation has been very delicate. Germany has left no stone unturned to provoke an actual war. The inevitable disaster to Mexico would cause Germany no regret, because it would divert American attention, troops, supplies and treasure to a side-issue and immensely weaken our whole-hearted support of our Allies.

In San Antonio, Texas, alone seven carloads of German propaganda destined for Mexico were held up and burned between February and June. It consisted mainly of newspapers, magazines and books published in Spanish and German and shipped to San Antonio from Spain, Cuba and Argentina.

Germany, as we know through the exposure of the Zimmerman note, cheerfully promised to Mexico, Texas, California and other American States as the reward of cooperation. She could well afford to promise such wages. She did not bring about her dream of an alliance between Mexico and Japan against the United States,

though her efforts have been untiring. She has been amply rewarded for the great sums of money expended on propaganda. She has kept Mexico from joining the Allies.

An article in the *World's Work* for June, 1918, describes many phases of the German activity, which extends even to the drilling of Boy Scouts in the "goose step."

German reservists are doing what they can in Mexico. Wireless communication with Germany through Spain has been one of their ambitions. To establish U-boat bases or bases for commerce raiders on the Mexican coasts is another of the German plans.

Germany has many newspapers there published in the German language, and many subsidized papers published in Spanish. Only one newspaper was openly pro-Ally, and that was *El Universal*, published by Mr. Felix Pallavicini. His activities aroused so much opposition and so many threats were made against his life that in May, 1918, he was compelled by threats of assassination to sell his paper and move to the United States.

On May 7, two American newspaper men, Robert Murray, a representative of the Committee on Public Information, and W. E. Wiegand, were arrested in Mexico for "pernicious propaganda." They were in danger of being shot, but were ordered deported. This sentence, however, was suspended, and in June a large delegation of Mexican editors was invited to come over the border and see what the United States is doing and hear what our motives and intentions toward them actually are.

They were received by President Wilson, who made them an address which was published in Mexico before its issue here was permitted. The President expressed his regret for injustices done to Mexico in the past, revealed his understanding of their distrust of the Monroe Doctrine and advocated a Pan-American agreement which would amount to a guarantee of protection against the possibility of aggression by the United States, as well as European powers.

He emphasized the purity of our motives and our innocence of any desire for conquest or profit from this war, and the Mexican editors seemed to be greatly impressed, as were our Allies. The London *Daily News* declared that in this memorable address President Wilson "revealed himself as the architect of the world's future." The London *Times*, comparing the speech with the recent statement of the German vice chancellor, says:

"No contrast could be stronger. The President talks of liberty, justice and law. The vice chancellor looks forward to a world in which the unified armies of Germany and Austria-Hungary will still impose their orders on a submissive Europe."

It is this fundamental difference in ambitions that dictates the propaganda of the Germans. Driven with a lust for domination and commercial supremacy, they betray all the traits both of conscienceless tyrants and of crooked tradesmen. Slander, murder and thieving are mere details of the business program.

The President in his address quoted a perfect example of German falsehood in handling the partial success of their June U-boat raid on the American coasts:

"It distresses me to learn that certain influences which I assume to be German in their origin, are trying to make a wrong impression throughout Mexico as to the purposes of the United States, and not only a wrong impression, but to give an absolutely untrue account of things that happen. You know the distressing things that have been happening just off our coasts. You know of the vessels that have been sunk. I yesterday received a quotation from a paper in Guadalajara which stated that thirteen of our battleships had been sunk off the capes of the Chesapeake. You see how dreadful it is to have people so radically misinformed.

"It was added that our Navy Department was withholding the truth with regard to these sinkings. I have no doubt that the publisher of the paper published that in perfect innocence without intending to convey wrong impressions, but it is evident that allegations of that sort proceed from those who wish to make trouble between Mexico and the United States."

The German cause has succeeded so well in Mexico, not only because of the recent removal to that country of great numbers of Germans, but also because, long before the war, Germany had been entrenching her spies and propagandists there.

Information of one especially strong organization has recently come to light in the following account: A report of the "Society of German Subjects in Mexico," dated July, 1916, shows that the purpose of the society was to "render permanent the interests of Germanism in economic and political spheres." Local groups under the direction of the Central Council of the Society were formed through the agency of the various imperial German consulates throughout Mexico to engage in publicity work, destined to continue even after the close of the war. The daily news service of the German-American Chamber of Commerce in New York was controlled by the society, which sent war telegrams thus received to all daily newspapers. A bi-weekly newspaper was established

as the organ of the society and thousands of pamphlets, etc., were distributed free of charge, the costs being borne by the German firms in Mexico and by a number of the members of the German colony. The American colony was a particular object of attention, being flooded with free publications of German propaganda. The result, in 1916, as estimated in this report of the society, was that the Mexican Government and the majority of the better classes were completely won over to the German side, whereas the lower classes, laborers and workmen, had sympathized with Germany from the beginning. As for those of German descent, those who were not already devoted to the cause of the Fatherland recalled their forgotten Germanism as soon as they began to expect the success of the German cause.

An American banker just from Mexico City described the situation in the New York *Tribune* of June 22, 1918:

"A campaign to inflame Mexicans against the United States is being carried on openly by German agents. German financial interests are rapidly absorbing important Mexican industries.

"There are about 5,000 Germans in Mexico City alone. They have honeycombed the country with their spy system, and have adopted both open and secret measures to control public feeling. Four newspapers in the city are pro-German in sentiment and openly hostile to the United States.

"An example of German activity is shown in their organized theatre claques. When moving pictures of American troops are thrown on the screen, Germans in the audience start jeering and hissing, and the impressionable Mexicans join in. Movies of Prussian troops are always greeted with applause.

"Americans and Germans are usually formally polite when they meet. But a party of drunken Germans tried to invade the American Club recently, and a fight was started, in which several of the enemy were sent to the hospital. There are few fugitive slackers from the United States in evidence in Mexico City. Those who do appear find it difficult to obtain work from any one except the Germans."

Among the visiting Mexican editors was Mr. Leo D. Walker, manager and editor of *El Progreso*, who gave the following account of the press propaganda in the New York *Times* of June 16, 1918:

"Monterey has one pro-German newspaper, *El Dia*, whose manager is hardly out of his teens. This newspaper, *El Dia*, has a circulation of from 500 to 600 daily. *El Dia* was formally pro-ally in its sympathies; in fact, it vilified the Germans bitterly. But one day it changed its tactics. While the pro-ally papers in Monterey—there are three others—find it difficult to buy news print paper at 6 and 7 cents a pound, *El Dia* has a warehouse full of news print paper.

"It receives a telegraph service, as far as can be learned, from a place in Mexico opposite Laredo. My own paper takes the Associated Press service, and, because *El Dia* seems to appear with the news generally one day late, it might seem that they were taking it from us. But that is not the case. To illustrate: In the recent German drive the Germans captured one of their objectives and took about 2,000 prisoners. *El Dia* was not late with this story, but published it in the same issue as it appeared in *El Progreso*. The only difference, and it was a great difference, was that *El Dia* said that 200,000 prisoners were taken, and played the story up in a way that only a pro-German paper would handle a German drive.

"Before *El Dia* adopted the pro-German policy the young editor found it hard to make both ends meet. Today we learn that his bills are paid, and he is given a handsome salary besides. In fact, he now wears a diamond ring and is arranging to buy an automobile.

"It would be easy to have a central source for news opposite Laredo, the object of which is to supply the pro-German newspapers in Mexico with garbled information. The news could be sent over by telephone from Laredo to Mexico and then relayed on to various cities where the pro-German papers are published.

"You know President Wilson told us that the pro-Germans in Mexico spread the report that eleven warships were sunk by the German U-boats at the entrance to New York harbor. That is the sort of false information that the pro-Germans attempt to put over all the time. Apparently the pro-German newspapers put in a large supply of news print paper before the embargo was applied. As that paper is used up it is likely that the propaganda will die down.'

"Another member of the party told of how when the journalists left Mexico, the pro-German press published lengthy articles on 'the traitor journalists.' Since then the Mexican newspaper men have been regaling themselves by publishing in every city that they stop a newspaper which they call *The Traitor Journalists*. However, they were too busy in New York to get out an issue.

"Another pro-German report spread broadcast recently was that all the crops in the United States were a failure this season, and that this country was unable to supply any food to the Allies. When the statement of Secretary Baker that there were 500,000 American troops in France was published in Mexico the pro-German newspapers said there were only 200,000, and most of these were noncombatant troops. The part being played by the United States is always belittled in the pro-German press in Mexico, the editors said, and the false news has a cast that gives it the appearance of having been supplied to the various pro-German publication from a central source.

"It was the opinion of the editors that the trip they were making would aid in the better dissemination of the facts as to the preparations for and the accomplishments thus far by this country in the war.

"When we return to Mexico, after viewing your great Hog Island shipyard, your munition factories at Bethlehem, and your other great industrial enterprises engaged in war work, we will be able to tell the people of our country of what we saw, and not what we were told. When the pro-Germans spread a report such as the one that all the crops in your country were a failure we will be in a position to say that this is a lie, and tell what we have seen. Reports of this nature previously have been contra-

dicted, and their falsity pointed out in the pro-Ally press, but the German propaganda generally attempted to discount the refutations. Now we shall be able to write authoritatively of the things we have seen with our own eyes.

"In a further attempt to cement the bonds of friendship between Mexico and the United States, it is believed that arrangements will soon be made to have a group of representative Mexican business men visit this country and make a tour similar to that of the editors."

SPANISH-AMERICA.

Throughout Spanish-America war is being waged against the United States and the Allies by Germans and by natives whom they employ. A Federal officer of the United States on May 5, 1918, made a statement of which the following is a part:

"South America at this moment is swamped with a pamphlet entitled *El Vampiro del Continente*, which is perhaps the most vicious attack on a nation every published, and the nation in this instance is the United States. We are getting reports on this pamphlet from everywhere in South America, and that much harm has been done must be admitted.

"Some months ago there was sent to South America for circulation a little officially prepared document entitled 'Why America Went to War.' Instead of making friends for us the book lost them, and an investigation was ordered. This investigation led to the discovery that the Germans had got hold of the genuine documents, after which they proceeded to substitute an edition of their own. The spurious edition was the same as the American, with the exception that the Germans inserted a preface.

"The preface was cleverly written, and to the ordinary person read as if it had been prepared by our Government. But the statements in the preface did not bear out the facts in the rest of the book, and so instead of believing what we said, thousands of people who read the book came to the conclusion that we were lying. Proper steps are now being taken to counteract this work of the enemy propaganda.

"In the South American countries the Germans have bought up numerous newspapers, which they employ to spread their propaganda, but this is a well known fact and so I won't elaborate on it. I will, however, make a reference to Mexico where the German newspaper propaganda has been and is still more powerful than in any nation in the world, with the possible exception of Spain. These papers print the most scandalous stories about public men in America and in some instances even against the women relatives of these men. President Wilson and Lloyd George are the favorite targets of these scurrilous and lying attacks.

"With the aid of these newspapers they get to the business man. For instance, a merchant is pro-Ally in his sentiments. The leading paper in his town is German-owned, but he does not know it. The fact that he is not in sympathy with Germany is brought to the attention of the secret German agent in charge of propaganda in his city or town. An excuse is found to exclude the merchant's advertisement, and at the same time to

boost the business of his pro-German opponent. The result is that he is ruined, or else gets back into the good graces of the paper by turning pro-German.

"Nothing but expert liars are used by the Germans in spreading their false information. These liars are trained in falsehood from their youth, and they are the men who, when other forms of propaganda fail to bring results, resort to scandal of the most vicious kind in order to attain their objects. Mexico and Spain are full of these German liars."

A similar organization is discovered at work in Chile as shown in an intercepted letter:

"The Comision Central of pro-German propaganda in Santiago, Chile, writes March 1, 1918, to ———, San Jose, Costa Rica. In answer to his letter requesting sample copies of press of Chile tells him to consult exchanges which *La Informacion* receives. Encloses printed copy of a protest which the Comision Central sent February 26, 1918, objecting to caricature of the Kaiser appearing in one of the Chilean papers."

At Montevideo also the Germans are busy, as is seen by the following report:

"'Centro Germana,' a German club organized August, 1915, in Montevideo, Uruguay, by employees of Standt & Co. and Knopp & Co. and other German sympathizers, membership at one time about 500, mostly Uruguayans and Spaniards. Published a small paper and bulletins which the government has stopped. All daily papers in Montevideo now pro-Ally, one weekly pro-German. Spanish review, *Oberia*, unimportant. Government and people of Montevideo pro-ally, country not. Commander of government cruiser Uruguay is German Capt. Franz Ruete, former officer in German navy. Banco Italiano under suspicion.

"In Colombia the following story was started and published in all the papers with the double object of creating Colombian and Japanese bitterness toward the United States. A Japanese ship convoying two frigates entered the Panama canal, but did not hoist the American colors. It was stopped and the reason demanded. The captain answered that he saw no reason for flying the United States flag in Colombian waters. He thereupon flew the flag of Colombia, and when United States officers came out to tear it down, he spread the flag of Japan over the gangway and dared them to cross it. The cowardly Americans retreated and the ship went on its triumphal way. The Japanese captain stated afterward that he would have blown up the canal if he had been molested.

"This fairy story was spread far and wide, until the censorship came upon a letter congratulating the author of the romance on the success of his invention. He was arrested. Another successful story was that the United States has only 25,000 men in France, and that they are mutinous from starvation owing to our inability to get supplies across to them."

Great sums have been spent in a vain endeavor to win Cuba over, according to this statement in the newspapers of June 14, 1918:

"More than \$200,000,000 has been spent for propaganda work in Cuba by Germany since the entrance of this country into the war, was the statement made today by a retired United States Army captain, who arrived here on an American vessel from South America.

"This captain makes his home in Havana, where he has business interests, and says he and other prominent business men of that city have several times narrowly escaped attempts on their lives because of their activities in trying to thwart the German propagandists.

"All of the German propaganda in Cuba,' he said, 'is in the hands of one man, whom I consider more dangerous than two German armies on the French front. Operating through the Spanish banks, this man has negotiated for the controlling interest in piers, shipping and fishing interests, and recently has acquired important factories, including chocolate and piano plants.

"He employs one man at \$5,000 a year, whose sole interest is to try to induce the Cuban government to make certain changes in the regulation of the tariff which will be for the benefit of Germany after the war.

"This German propaganda work is being carried on, not only in Cuba, but also in Mexico and Central America. More than 400 German agents have been sent to Mexico from Cuba for propaganda purposes. When the Mexican gunboat *Progreso* left Cuba recently it had as passengers three men known by the authorities to be German agents.'"

According to information received by the Military Intelligence Branch, orders were issued in June, 1918, to intensify the propaganda in favor of the Central Powers by means of the press in Argentina and Chile. All papers possible were to be bribed with a view to preparing a favorable atmosphere for Germany, and avoiding the loss of the only two commercial fields left in South America—Chile and Argentina.*

La Union, a German propaganda newspaper in Argentina, often publishes Berlin official communiqués, which arrive nine hours later over a British cable from London.

The cables are obtained from Curacao, Dutch West Indies, which is able to keep up direct communication with the Nauen station. Messages are transmitted from Curacao to a receiving station in Chile, whence they are sent to Buenos Aires by the local wires.

The source of *La Union's* telegraphic service is a well organized and evidently enormously subsidized office of German propaganda, operating under the guise of a dummy news agency, "*Prensa Asociada*" (Spanish translation of "Associated Press"), which name was purposely used to confuse it with the "Associated Press," with which it has no connection.

The "*Prensa Asociada*" sends out its letters reading "Sucursal, Buenos Aires;" receives a bona fide telegraphic service which has

been handed over to *La Union* and the other German papers here, and was discovered as a result of offering telegraphic service at a ridiculously low price to the local and provincial newspapers, and finally offering it free to the Buenos Aires papers.

The big dailies in Buenos Aires have mistakenly used the words "The Associated Press" in crediting news dispatches, yet the German office does not claim to be a branch of the New York Associated Press, though it does claim to have a branch office in New York.

Outside of Buenos Aires, the only branches of "Prensa Asociada" which have been found are at Madrid and at Santiago de Chile, which from all appearances is filing wireless news received somewhere on the west coast or in Central America.

"DISRUPTION OFFENSIVE" AGAINST JAPAN.

A cable from the London *Times* of May 18 makes the following statement concerning German tamperings with Japan:

"London, May 17.—Baron Chinda, the Japanese Ambassador to Great Britain, speaking this afternoon at a luncheon of the foreign press association, said that the warning by Lord Curzon, who had spoken previously against enemy propaganda, reminded him keenly of a 'disruption offensive.' According to the last report of the foreign office, Berlin was said to have issued a pamphlet of a very cheap edition entitled 'The World's Future War,' in which Japan was depicted in lurid colors as fighting against England. 'That was one means of their propaganda, said Baron Chinda. Another thing he heard was that according to a late report some members of the press in Berlin were taking up discussing the question of future alliances between Germany and Japan.

"'You can see through all these machinations,' said the Ambassador. 'They are meant, of course, to alienate Japan's feeling from her ally and sow seeds of mistrust in the minds of the other allies. I do not deem it necessary for me to refute these allegations, because they are so monstrous, so preposterous, that they carry with themselves their own refutation, but I want to state that whatever other national faults or shortcomings may be laid at the door of Japan, assuredly disloyalty to the plighted word is not one that we have. We have shown that already by our deeds and you can remember the reason why we went into this war.

"'Japan was one of the earliest nations who made common cause with you. What was this cause? The object for which Japan went to war and the object for which Great Britain declared war on Germany are almost the same. In the highest sense of honor we sought to live up to our words with England. Your case was to maintain your guarantee of the neutrality of Belgium and in our case it was to live up to the terms of the Anglo-Japanese alliance.'"

Efforts to arouse jealousy and even war between Japan and the United States have been incessant. Japan has been represented as in actual alliance with Mexico against us. Japanese zealots against the United States and Americans fanatic against Japan have played Germany's game, fortunately without success and yet always with a certain evil influence.

While one set of propagandists tries to prove Germany's affection for Japan and her unity of interest, others denounce the Japanese as a yellow peril. When the Japanese were taking steps to protect the supplies heaped up at Vladivostok the Germans spent one million marks in propaganda to stir up Russian suspicion against them.

CHINA AND INDIA.

At the same time the Japanese rapprochement with China has furnished the ubiquitous propagandists with another field. Their activity was thus described in the newspapers of May 23, 1918:

"A special cable dispatch to the *Nichi Bei* of San Francisco from its correspondent in Tokio dealing with Teuton intrigues among Chinese politicians, says that the agitation among the Chinese politicians and students in the Japanese capital proves the supposition that these intrigues were under effective control to have been another expensive illusion.

"A body of extreme radicals among the Chinese students left Tokio for China with the definite idea of arousing a certain political element in China to fight everything Japanese there and generally bring about a hostile sentiment in China against Japan. American readers, says the correspondent, should bear in mind that these so-called Chinese students are not mere college boys. An overwhelming majority of them are astute and thoroughly experienced politicians, ever alert and awaiting for a chance of political opportunity, and all this excitement among them was the direct result of the clever manipulation of the Chinese press and politicians by German-paid agents. Excuse was found in the Chinese and Japanese treaty providing for joint action in Manchuria and Siberia against German penetration of the Far East.

"The agitation among the Chinese students in Tokio assumed serious proportions. The Chinese Minister there called some of the leaders of the students to him and explained to them the real nature of the treaty. He showed how they had been misled by erroneous reports in the Chinese press and appealed to their sense of justice and patriotism to cease the agitation. To make the matter still more effective, the Minister induced Baron Goto, Foreign Minister of Japan, to grant an interview to their leaders and to give them an official explanation. Baron Goto received the students readily, according to the Tokio cable, and said to them:

"The reports in certain Chinese newspapers are entirely wrong. The military treaty between China and Japan is a defensive instrument, pure and simple. It provides for a joint action of China and Japan to defend the peace of the Far East.

Judging from the unstable conditions of affairs in Russia, the German influences may invade the extreme East and threaten its peace. Such a thing may happen, no one can be sure that it may not. If it should come to pass, the treaty provides for the joint action of Chinese and Japanese armies to protect the peace. There is no other significance.'

"This explanation satisfied the students, according to the Tokio cable, but they requested the Foreign Minister to put it in the form of a brief memorandum that they might allay the suspicion of some 3,000 of their fellow students. This request was readily complied with."

An editorial in the Philadelphia *Ledger* of June 29, 1918, thus sums up the danger and the opportunity in China as a result of German propaganda:

"Several of the New York papers published a statement yesterday in their financial sections which was in many respects the most important news of the day. The New York *Times* had it this way:

"A new proposal that American banks unite to supply money urgently needed by the Chinese Government has been brought forward by the State Department, which has completely reversed the policy toward foreign loans adopted by W. J. Bryan when he was Secretary of State. At the request of the State Department, J. P. Morgan attended a conference in Washington on Wednesday, at which the necessities of the republic of China were explained. Mr. Morgan represented the New York institutions which will cooperate in arranging the financing if the old difficulties that blocked previous negotiations can be cleared away.'

"This plan, if carried through, would be the beginning of a new sane and far-seeing Allied policy for the saving of China from the Germans. It is easy for glib ignorance to indulge in cheap cynicism about 'dollar diplomacy'; but a generous Allied proposition—and none other should be considered—for the financing of distracted and almost derelict China at this crisis would be an intelligent modern movement for the defeat of Germany in one of the most important 'war areas' of propaganda and opinion where she has long been and now is most active—and hopeful. That it has to do with 'dollars' is beside the question. So have munitions and shipbuilding and Liberty Loans and Red Cross funds. It is, seen rightly, an act of war—a body blow on a vital point at Prussian imperialism.

"China is already our active ally. She is already a republic. These two statements possess about the same market value. They are happy signs of the future rather than comprehensive definitions of the present. It would be interesting to know how many millions there are in China who have heard of neither fact. It would probably be the naked truth to say that the Allies will have to fight for China before China will do very much fighting for the Allies. By 'fight for China' we mean a number of things—fight for her financially by supplying the vital fluid of capital without which the largest nation can neither profit by peace nor wage war; fight for her trust and confidence without which neither our peace relations nor war cooperation will make such progress; especially fight German propaganda in China.

"We have some check on the German propagandist in America. He is still foot-loose in China. And tongue-loose. Some idea of

the sort of thing he does may be gathered from one of his pre-war tricks. He formed a news agency which proposed to supply a steady stream of cable news from Berlin to all the Chinese newspapers. The newspapers were not asked to pay any money for this. Oh, no! The sordid word was never mentioned. They were to pay in advertising allotted to German firms. Get the idea? Berlin would pour into the entire Chinese press a polluted river of Teuton-tainted news under an arrangement so attractive financially that no Chinese paper would be without it. Then the big German firms—the steamship people, the wholesale merchants, the iron men, the railway builders, everybody whose profits fattened the Fatherland—would fill up this free space in the Chinese papers with German advertising. The loss on the operation? That would be charged to the imperialistic propaganda fund.

"It is silly, dangerous and most un-American in its cowardly blinking of facts for us to pretend that the Germans have not a devilish cleverness in deceiving, tricking and trapping virtually all eastern peoples. Because they blundered with us, not understanding our limpid psychology, we laugh comfortably at their efforts elsewhere—laugh in spite of Russia, in spite of Italy, in spite of Turkey. If we keep on laughing while they capture 400,000,000 Chinese, we may presently laugh on the other side of our mouths."

German propaganda in India has been exceedingly active, and the success of her efforts to separate India from the British Empire would have an almost incalculable military and financial influence. Great numbers of Hindu troops are fighting for England in Mesopotamia and elsewhere, and these would be cut off from their base and perhaps turned into enemies instead of allies.

The United States has been notoriously a center of a great Hindu conspiracy. The trial of fifty conspirators in San Francisco involved German agents, including a German consul, Franz Bopp. All of them were found guilty and one of the Hindus shot and killed another in the court room, the assassin himself being instantly killed by a Federal marshal. It is well proved that the German Embassy and the various consulates in the United States and elsewhere have been hotbeds of German propaganda and of spy work, and citizens of certain neutral nations have been implicated in the plots. The Count Luxburg of "Spurlos Versenkt" fame has been only one of many confederates.

TURKEY.

The propagandist had not neglected Turkey, of course. In fact the Kaiser himself had for years acted as his own propagandist or in homelier terms, his own "press agent." By personal visits, by protestation of respect for Mohammedanism, by the publication

of his own photograph in Turkish uniform and by various other devices he advertised Germany as Turkey's friend.

The papers of July 13, 1918, reported the death of Karl Neufeld in a sanitarium near Berlin and gave a brief biography of him that is interesting as a model of German thoroughness in propaganda:

"When Neufeld was rescued from a Mahdist jail at Omdurman in September, 1898, he was released from an imprisonment which had lasted eleven years, during which he suffered many sorts of torture. He had been a merchant at Assuan in 1887. From a fugitive from Soudan he got the news in Northern Kordofan that there was a large quantity of gum which merchants had been unable to dispose of in consequence of the rebellion. He got permission from the British Government to set off with a caravan that was to join Sheik Saleh. Saleh's followers were killed in a fight and Neufeld was brought to Omdurman. He was to have been hanged on the following morning. The Mahdi repealed the sentence and Neufeld went to prison. He spent a year in the 'black hole' of the prison.

"He became fluent in Arabic and Mohammedan customs, and not long after his release, which occurred when General Kitchener took Omdurman, he made pilgrimages to Mecca and successfully passed a searching examination on the Koran, when his claim to being a Mohammedan was disputed. He spread the prevailing belief among the uninformed Mohammedans that Emperor William was the Grand Caliph of the European Mohammedans and went to war to free them from Christian oppression."

So complete was the domination of Turkey by Germany, not only through the providing of military instruction and equipment, but through commercial advances, that the Turks laid the blame of the Armenian massacres on the German teaching.

Ambassador Morgenthau, in his autobiography as published in the *World's Work*, gives in the June number many striking examples of German methods and comments on their incalculable military importance:

"The duel that took place between Germany and the Entente for Turkey's favor was a most unequal one. Germany had won the victory when she smuggled the *Goeben* and the *Breslau* into the Sea of Marmora. The English, French and Russian ambassadors well understood this, and they knew that they could not make Turkey an active ally of the Entente; they probably had no desire to do so; however, they did hope that they could keep her neutral. * * *

"Whatever may have been the attitude of Enver and Talaat, I think that England and France were more popular with all classes in Turkey than was Germany. The Sultan was opposed to war; the heir apparent, Youssouff Izzadin, was openly pro-ally; the Grand Vizier, Said Halim, favored England rather than Germany; Djemal, the third member of the ruling triumvirate, had the reputation of being a Francophile—he had recently re-

turned from Paris, where the reception he had received had greatly flattered him; a majority of the cabinet had no enthusiasm for Germany; and public opinion, so far as public opinion existed in Turkey, regarded England, not Germany, as Turkey's historic friend. Wangenheim, therefore, had much opposition to overcome and the methods which he took to break it down form a classic illustration of German propaganda. Wangenheim's agents now filled columns with purchased attacks on England. The whole Turkish press rapidly passed under the control of Germany. Wangenheim purchased the *Ikdam*, one of the largest Turkish newspapers, which immediately began to sing the praises of Germany and to abuse the Entente. The *Osmanischer Lloyd*, published in French and German, became an organ of the German Embassy. Although the Turkish Constitution guaranteed a free press, a censorship was established in the interest of the Central Powers. All Turkish editors were ordered to write in Germany's favor and they obeyed instructions. The *Jeune Turc*, a pro-Entente newspaper, printed in French, was suppressed. The Turkish papers exaggerated German victories and completely manufactured others; they were constantly printing the news of Entente defeats, most of them wholly imaginary. In the evening Wangenheim and Pallavicini would show me official telegrams giving the details of military operations, but when, in the morning, I would look in the newspapers I would find that this news had been twisted or falsified in Germany's favor.

"A certain Baron Oppenheim traveled all over Turkey manufacturing public opinion against England and France. Ostensibly he was an archaeologist, while in reality he opened offices everywhere, from which issued streams of slanders against the Entente. Huge maps were pasted on walls, showing all the territory which Turkey had lost in the course of a century. Russia was portrayed as the nation chiefly responsible for these 'robberies' and attention was drawn to the fact that England had now become Russia's ally. Pictures were published showing the grasping powers of the Entente as rapacious animals, snatching away at poor Turkey. Enver was advertised as the 'hero' who had recovered Adrianople; Germany was pictured as Turkey's friend; the Kaiser suddenly became 'Hadji Wilhelm,' the great protector of Islam; stories were even printed that he had become a convert to Mohammedanism. The Turkish populace was informed that the Moslems of India and of Egypt were about to revolt and throw off their English 'tyrants.' The Turkish man-on-the-street was taught to say 'Gott Strafe England,' and all the time the motive power of this infamous campaign was German money.

"But Germany was doing more than poisoning the Turkish mind; she was appropriating Turkey's military resources. The time had now come to transform Turkey from a passive into an active ally, and the closing of the Dardanelles was the first step in this direction. Few Americans realize, even today, what an overwhelming influence this act had upon future military operations. * * * This was the narrow gate through which the surplus products of 175,000,000 people reached Europe, and nine-tenths of all Russian exports and imports had gone this way for years. By suddenly closing it, Germany destroyed Russia, both as an economic and a military power. By shutting off the exports of Russian grain she deprived Russia of the financial power essential to successful warfare. What was perhaps even more fatal, she prevented England and France from getting

munitions to the Russian battle front in sufficient quantity to stem the German onslaught. As soon as the Dardanelles was closed, Russia had to fall back on Archangel and Vladivostok for such supplies as she could get from these ports. The cause of the military collapse of Russia in 1915 is now well known; the soldiers simply had no ammunition with which to fight. In the last few months Germany has attempted desperately to drive a 'wedge' between the English and French armies, an enterprise which, up to the present writing, has failed. When Germany, however, closed the Dardanelles in late September, 1914, she drove such a 'wedge' between Russia and her allies.

"In the days following this bottling up of Russia, the Bosphorus began to look like a harbor suddenly stricken with the plague. Hundreds of ships from Russia, Rumania and Bulgaria loaded with grain, lumber and other products, arrived, only to discover that they could go no further.

"Then one by one they turned around, pointed their noses toward the Black Sea and lugubriously started for their home ports. In a few weeks the Bosphorus and adjoining waters had become a desolate waste. What for years had been one of the most animated shipping points in the world was now ruffled only by an occasional launch or a tiny Turkish caique. And for an accurate idea of what this meant, from a military standpoint, we need only call to mind the Russian battle front in the next year. There the peasants were fighting German artillery with their unprotected bodies, having no rifles and no heavy guns, while mountains of useless ammunition were piling up in their distant Arctic and Pacific ports, with no railroads to send them to the field of action."

SCANDINAVIA AND HOLLAND.

Sweden is a paradise for German propaganda. Norway has been less amenable on account of the destruction of so much of her shipping by the submarines, but the country is none the less kept under constant pressure. Denmark is similarly crowded with propagandists and Holland is alternately threatened and offered bribes.

The *Handelsblad* of May 24, 1918, announces:

"We have learned that Germany is busily engaged in establishing throughout the whole world a Pan-German information service, and that one of the measures adopted with that object in view has been the creation of a 'National Dutch Information Agency at The Hague.'"

Germany's ability and willingness to use in other countries as her agents the very people whom she represses at home are shown in the following description of the situation in Denmark contributed to the *Chicago Tribune* of June 9, 1918, by an "Ex-Attache:"

"With Denmark the case is entirely different. In the early stages of the war the sympathies of the people were to a great extent with the Entente and directed against Prussia, which in

1864 had robbed her of her two richest and largest provinces, Schleswig and Holstein.

"But soon matters underwent a change. Agriculture, which is the staple industry of Denmark, began to reap undreamed of profits from the sale of its produce to Germany, while the blockade instituted by Great Britain interfered so greatly with the sea trade of Denmark as to cause resentment among her people.

"This sentiment was diligently fostered and fanned by the German Socialist agents in Denmark. For years prior to the war Germany was the headquarters of Socialism and the principal leaders of the cult were Germans.

"Emperor William was alive to the opportunities thus offered, and contrived, even prior to 1914, to convert the German Socialist leaders into his agents in foreign countries. Though making a pretense of persecuting the Socialists in his own dominions, he directed their operations in foreign lands.

"He did all in his power—sub-rosa, of course—to promote Socialism, of the Teuton brand, in each one of the countries with which he was supposed to be on terms of amity and friendship. And thus it happened that when the present war began the Socialists in every country leaned toward Germany, and when the time came supported his pacifist intrigues against their own governments.

"The Danes have always been inclined to socialism—to socialism of the extreme order. The people are intensely democratic. The government of the day includes Socialists in the cabinet and in the administration, while the pro-German premier, Dr. Zahle, is a radical of the most advanced type.

"Financed by the German government and directed by German Socialist agents, benevolent societies and peasants' and workingmen's unions were formed all over the kingdom, one of the most notable being the so-called 'Workingmen's Provision of Combustibles,' which undertook to import coal from Germany or from other countries, and to sell it, without profit, to the laboring classes.

"All these unions and societies, under the guise of mutual benefit and philanthropy, were just so many German Socialist organizations for the advancement of the political interests of the Kaiser.

"It was through these unions that the Danes were taught to believe that instead of having any reason to be grateful to America for the extravagant price which they had received for their West Indian Islands, that they had, on the contrary, been swindled in the deal and could have had a much larger sum.

"When the United States was compelled in self-defense to inaugurate an embargo upon all exports, except those licensed by the War Trade Board at Washington, and the Danes felt the pinch of the shoe, they became quite as bitter against the United States as against England. In fact, Denmark today seems the most unfriendly of all neutrals, running neck and neck in the matter with Holland.

"There is this difference, however, between the two. In the Netherlands the masses of the population, the bourgeoisie and the liberal professions hate and fear Germany and lean towards the Entente. It is the aristocracy, the superior officers of the army, and the members of the government who are pro-German.

"In Denmark, however, we have not only the court and government, but also the entire people against us, thanks to the clever work of the Kaiser, through his Socialist allies."

A Danish-American, in a letter to a Senator, has written the following account of German activity among his people and makes an interesting suggestion as to counteraction:

"For some time I have desired to bring to your attention a certain phase of propaganda originating in Germany and carried on in this country; also how it may be made to recoil.

"Schleswig, taken from Denmark by Germany in 1864, was Danish in heart and by tradition, but has been Teutonized by all the methods of influence, force, persuasion, schools, church, courts, conscription, service, trade, preferment, etc., and it has accomplished wonders. I have been in close touch with the work and results. By analyzing the German propaganda work in the United States you can easily judge how it is carried on in the Scandinavian lands, Holland, Spain and Switzerland. The terrors of Belgium were partly to intimidate the small neutrals, not only to make them stay out, but to obey German mandates.

"I have made myself familiar with this by reading Danish-American newspapers and I have been expecting something to happen to these same papers; but it is something that has been overlooked—its virus does not appear on the surface and, in fact, would not be apparent unless one were thoroughly acquainted with the existing situation. To be brief, the Scandinavian press, especially the Danish-American press, has wittingly or unwittingly been made a sewer for German propaganda, smoothly gotten up; but there is plenty of it.

"The Danish-language papers of Schleswig are more rigidly German-censored than pure German publications. These papers find their way to Denmark. Danish papers copy and then are mailed to the United States. Here the Scandinavian language press swallow it horns and all, and give it to their readers. This consists of finely gotten up 'sob stories' from the German trenches, especially, always emphasizing and extolling their Christianity and deep religious feelings, etc.

"The Government's attention must be called to this at once. One more subject I wish to call to your attention: The Allies have a most potent weapon that is not, but should be, made use of at once. There must be nearly 50,000, perhaps more, Scandinavians serving in the allied ranks, in the foreign legions of France, in the Australian ranks, the Canadians and thousands in the United States Expeditionary Forces. A properly handled systematic plan, wisely conducted, from those men writing to their kindred the right kind of letters and those letters given proper publicity in the towns where they were raised, would not only knock out the carefully planned German propaganda, but would so arouse the populace that instead of a benevolent neutrality, Germany would find practically every neutral a hostile enemy. This also refers to Holland and Switzerland. There are no Scandinavian volunteers serving in the German army, excepting a very few Junker officers, very few.

"I am a Dane by birth. I know what could be done and I should like to see it done at once. This Government has the services of my two boys on the battle line in France. This Government can have my services in the most needed capacity in which I can serve in the capacity I have so briefly outlined. It is a large field of labor, promising rich results, and further increased hostility to Germany will help stop her from being able to conduct her manufacturing enterprises from other lands

after the war is over. Have I made myself plain? Do you grasp the 'big game' that may be made by small but proper efforts?"

SWITZERLAND.

Switzerland is another typical stamping ground. Every imaginable form of attack on the Allies is practiced there from commercial and financial colonization to the ultimate in propaganda.

A discussion of the Swiss situation by Julian Grande appeared in the *New York Times* of June 10, 1918, as follows:

"Berne, May 17.—By the time this article appears I hope that the diary of Dr. Muhlon, a former Director of Krupp, will be on sale in Switzerland and in the hands of the translators in England. The importance of such a book as this and of the revelations of Prince Lichnowsky can scarcely be realized except by those who, like myself, have lived throughout the war in a neutral European country such as Switzerland and seen the profoundly penetrating effects of German propaganda.

"Long before the outbreak of the war Germany had contrived to place in the editorial offices of some of the leading German-Swiss papers men who were originally German subjects, but who had become naturalized as Swiss. These men were, of course, Swiss only in name, but it is they who occupy the front pages even now of several of the chief German-Swiss newspapers. Occasionally, by way of variety or for some special purpose, there is an Austrian instead of a German. But it all comes to the same thing: the opinions which are daily instilled into the Swiss public by these men are German opinions, such as Germany wishes to prevail.

"Nothing could testify more strongly to the hold which Germany has acquired upon the German-Swiss press than the fact that, although Prince Lichnowsky's revelations are being everywhere read throughout Switzerland, yet not a single leading German-Swiss newspaper has thought it worth while to devote a leading article to them, scarcely even a paragraph. The French-Swiss press has, of course, had long articles on the subject.

"Nevertheless, I hear that Prince Lichnowsky's revelations, which were published in German by Orell Fussli of Zurich and in French by Atar of Geneva, quickly ran into a second edition and are still selling by thousands. To show how distasteful this Lichnowsky memorandum is to the German Government I may mention that when it first appeared on sale in Switzerland German agents bought up every copy they could find in the hope that it would not reach the hands of the public. Presumably they thought that the publisher had published only a couple of thousand copies and that, if they bought up these, nothing more would ever be heard of the obnoxious publication. The publisher, however, advertised the revelation in large type in the Swiss daily press; the public saw the advertisements, and insisted upon reading the revelations. The publisher, I presume, realized Germany's little plot and immediately issued a large new edition, and now every kiosk and every bookshop in Switzerland not directly in the hands of Germans has the Lichnowsky revelations on sale and sells them.

"To show what an eye-opener these revelations have been I may quote a Swiss, a Bernese, although not, I admit, a slave to German propaganda. He said to me only two days ago that he had never yet been able to believe that all the guilt for the war really lay at Germany's door, but the Lichnowsky revelations had opened his eyes and made him see her machinations as he had never done before.

"Dr. Muhlon's book, which will undoubtedly open still more eyes, is to be published, I believe, at 3 francs only. Now that I have read through an advance copy, I may say that it is singularly timely confirmation of Prince Lichnowsky's revelations. On certain points, for instance, on which Prince Lichnowsky does not touch or scarcely touches, Dr. Muhlon's evidence is profoundly interesting. For instance, he confirms Germany's having been very anxious to plot with the Pope. An entry in the diary dated September 5, 1914, says:

"The present schemers are very great sticklers for Roman Catholicism, although they hate it. They reflect, however, that there are a great number of Roman Catholics, and that they must, therefore, possess a great deal of power. In particular, they are sounding the new Pope, and are very anxious about the results, he being reputed to be a political Pontiff, and not a religious one like his predecessor. In the highest quarters in Berlin it is whispered that the Pope is no fool; and that although his personal predilections go toward France, this does not prevent him from realizing political considerations.

"The idiots in Germany really seriously believe that they can induce him to side with Germany against France and Belgium, and were in a great hurry to put out feelers, thinking "first come first served." A highly placed personage, a Protestant, told me with inexpressible solemnity that the Pope was now more important in Germany than any great power, and particularly the present Pope, whom he had known as a Cardinal.

"In home politics also the leaders in Germany today attach a great deal of importance to the Roman Catholic Church, in other words, to the Centre Party, not only because the Roman Catholics, being so powerful, can turn the scale in big debates, but also because they are believed to be in favor of the annexation of the Roman Catholic countries in the west. As a matter of fact the Centre Party includes a few mischievous agitators such as Erzberger, who allow themselves to be made use of for carrying out Germany's designs upon Belgium, because whatever may betide they are determined to be somebody.'

"An interesting confirmation of the extent to which the Germans endeavored to influence the neutral press is the following entry, dated September 25, 1914:

"Everywhere the German Government now has its emissaries, whose business it is, not to convince the newspapers of neutral countries, but to bribe them not to write against Germany. No one in Germany will believe that there is a more effective method than bribery. The well-known Reichstag Deputy, Erzberger, rascal that he is, is of great assistance to our Government in this respect. He even writes articles himself, which are afterward said to be distributed by means of Government money; and I remember one particular article of his which began by asserting, without even an attempt at substantiation or proof, that the French had intended to violate Swiss neutrality and had asked Switzerland to allow them to march through her territory upon Germany, but had been prevented from doing so because the

Swiss army was mobilized against France only. Any one who does not believe this better go and read the article in *Der Tag*.'

"The Germans, Dr. Muhlon proceeds, under date of September 26, 1914, attempt to explain their unpopularity by alleging that they have not been bribing the foreign press enough—bribing, he it noted, not enlightening it.

"Writing on October 5, 1914, Dr. Muhlon remarks that it was just then the fashion to praise the Bavarian troops up to the skies. He himself being a Bavarian, can testify to the fact that the Bavarians, perhaps less than any other Germans, know why they are fighting and for what. They were, however, he says, reputed to be the best fighters; they took off their coats so as to be able to hit harder, and they stuck their long pocket knives into everything and everyone coming in their way. 'They give no quarter, and therefore ought to be put to fight the British.'

"Referring on the same date to the terrible stories in circulation about East Prussia and the fighting there against the Russians, Dr. Muhlon states that everyone was saying, with entire approval, that not only were the Russians driven into the swamps, but tens of thousands who would have surrendered and tried to struggle out of the morass, were driven in again at the point of the bayonet, until they were drowned or suffocated.

"An order was issued to give no quarter, 'Too many prisoners could not be used.' The cries of the drowning were said to have been heard for days and nights, and not even to have been overpowered by the roar of the cannon. Ninety thousand prisoners were said to have been taken, but far more to have been murdered when they were helplessly imploring for help. Dr. Muhlon says that he cannot personally vouch for the truth of this, but that everyone in Germany was repeating such stories, and no one uttered a word of regret or indeed did anything but express approval."

A further testimony not only to the activities in Switzerland but to German propaganda everywhere as a military power, is given by a recent visitor to that country, interviewed in the papers of June 8, 1918:

"A German victory would mean the end of Swiss independence twelve months after peace was declared, according to the opinion of Dr. Frank Bohn, Secretary of the Friends of German Democracy, who returned recently from a visit abroad. Dr. Bohn spent several months in Switzerland. He made the prediction, he said, after considering that Germany was rapidly seizing the enormous natural resources of Switzerland. He said that if there are any persons in America who still depended upon the people of Germany to win a victory for us, they had better disillusion themselves. He said he questioned many German democratic exiles in Switzerland.

"The efforts you hear of through the press are merely the carefully laid schemes of the German pacifist propaganda,' said Dr. Bohn. "This propaganda takes a hundred forms. It permeates every nook and corner of European life. If through some terrible catastrophe Germany should win, history will report that it was the German propaganda that was the decisive factor. France and her Allies cannot hold the German propaganda back in Italy, in the Balkans, in Russia and in neutral countries."

"The story of that propaganda is one of the amazing chapters in the history of this generation. Germany is spending \$5,000,000 in Switzerland alone. Every one of her hundreds of agents in that country is now talking peace, peace, peace. Germany has purchased some of the largest newspapers in Switzerland. German press service reaches every country weekly in that country.

"German propaganda can only be made to fail if we become permeated with the basic idea of absolute victory and the reasons why there will be victory. Anything less is surrender and treason, treason to the entire well being of civilization. The less we think of peace now the sooner we will have it in reality."

The German effort to control journalism in Switzerland is thus described by Carl W. Ackerman in the *Saturday Evening Post* of May 25, 1918:

"The Swiss press is sharply divided. In the French part of Switzerland there are no neutral papers. All are pro-Ally as far as the war is concerned, though intensely pro-Swiss at all times. In German Switzerland many of the influential newspapers are owned by German capital or are subject to German influence, both directly and indirectly. Some are so dependent upon Germany for news and coal that room cannot be found for American news. After a careful study of the newspapers over a period of three months, it was estimated that eighty-five per cent of the news about America in the Swiss papers was decidedly antagonistic.

"Our failures and miscalculations have been advertised almost daily, with the result that many thousands of Swiss citizens do not consider America's participation in the war seriously. By April, one year after we had been at war with Germany, practically nothing had been done to explain America's position. Most of the news of us has been 'made in Germany,' because the German agencies have been particularly liberal in spreading dissatisfactory reports about the United States. The excellent reasons which the United States has given for not being able to ship grain to Switzerland immediately have not been explained in the press. Nothing has been done to contradict the German statement that the American forces in France will invade Switzerland.

"German propaganda, however, is not limited to the Swiss press nor the spreading of rumors about American intentions. All news stands in German Switzerland are controlled by a German syndicate. The leading news stands in Berne, Zürich, Basel, Lucerne and all the railroad stations handle only German and Swiss newspapers.

"The first part of this year a correspondent of one of the leading Swiss newspapers returned from the United States with material for a series of articles on America's war preparations. The first article he called 'Why America Entered the War.' It had to be rewritten three times before the editors would accept it, because they feared his strong statements might antagonize the ten thousand German readers of the paper. Finally, when the article was published the German authorities sent word to the editor that unless a German writer was permitted to answer the articles the German Government would have to stop the coal supply to the paper.

"When the great offensive was launched on the Western Front the French Council of National Defense closed all frontiers, especially the border stations between France and Switzerland. This was done to prevent news from reaching the German agents in Switzerland pertaining to the movement of troops. A few days later the German Government closed the Swiss-German frontier and there was an immediate reaction in Switzerland. The press discovered that Switzerland had only sufficient coal for her industries and trains to run about two weeks. While Germany may have taken this step to prevent news from Germany reaching Switzerland during the great military crisis in March and April, it is probable that the German Government had another object in view—namely, that of impressing upon the Swiss Government and people the dependence upon Germany of Swiss industries and railroads."

IRELAND.

The attempt to take advantage of the Irish desire for independence is a familiar example of German propaganda. The activities of Sir Roger Casement among Irish prisoners in Germany and his appearance in Ireland from a submarine added to the embarrassment of Great Britain. On May 15th, two Germans were captured as they landed on the coast of Ireland from a submarine. Others are believed to have arrived.

The efforts of England to give Home Rule to Ireland and to secure assistance instead of hostility from that important element in the British Empire have been largely thwarted through the efforts of German propagandists, who cheerfully offer Ireland a freedom that Germany has given to no one else, and have succeeded in persuading great numbers of Irish patriots to lend a passive or active aid to the enemies of Ireland's old ally, France, and her chief benefactor, the United States.

In this country a certain group of irreconcilably anti-British Irishmen worked hand in glove with the Germans, and the case of Jeremiah O'Leary and others now on trial reveals the extent to which the conspiracy was carried in America.

The military effect is evident. Instead of being able to gain from Ireland a great army of soldiers by the policy of conscription, to which all the Allies have submitted, it has been necessary for England to keep a large number of troops in Ireland as a garrison against open revolt.

German propaganda has thereby gained a triple success: An Irishman, instead of taking his place in the trenches, withdraws an Englishman from the trenches; thus enabling a German whom that Englishman would have counterbalanced to combat another English

soldier. In short, he reduces the English quota by two and adds one to the German.

Cables from England of June 26, 1918, state:

"London, June 26.—Seditious propaganda, in the form of posters, poems, pamphlets and other literature, has begun to make its appearance in many sections of Ireland, and the government learns that they are from German sources. Ireland is known to be in direct communication with Germany, and submarines have been showing themselves off the Irish coast at localities where destruction of ships could not be their object.

"These are some of the revelations that are stirring Parliament to action and which caused Premier Lloyd George to appeal in the house for immediate settlement of the Irish question. The delay is not only presenting difficulties for England, but is hampering the United States in the prosecution of the war.

"Edward Shortt, chief secretary for Ireland, declared that he would prove that the German plot in Ireland was a real imminent danger and not a myth.

"Mr. Shortt quoted several posters that are conspicuously posted throughout Ireland, one of which reads:

"'Any straw and fodder taken by the German army will be paid for by Germany.' This is only one, he said, of many posters of this nature."

From an elaborate history of this agitation in the United States, prepared by the Military Intelligence Branch, this synopsis may be quoted as a bird's-eye view of Irish propaganda in the United States and its connection with enemy activities. It should not be taken as a complete statement of all the information available.

The following conclusions are offered as fairly deducible:

Before the outbreak of the war in 1914 and until the beginning of 1915, Irish agitation in the United States had no strong financial backing and was rather anaemic.

Shortly after the arrival of the German High Commission in September, 1914, a virulent German propaganda started under Dr. Dernburg and others. The potentialities of the Irish organizations were too obvious to be overlooked and their services were engaged.

During 1915, certain Irish leaders were openly associated with German propagandists in efforts to discredit the cause of the Allies, and to prevent the manufacture and shipment of munitions. These movements were financed with German money.

During the early part of 1916, the efforts of both parties and funds supplied by Germany were devoted to causing revolution in Ireland. This culminated in the Easter uprising in which Irish-Americans took a definite part.

After the fiasco of the Easter uprising, some of the Irish element became disaffected, because of the belief, voiced by Casement, that the Germans were using the Irish as tools.

The professional agitators, like O'Leary and Devoy, continued their activities in open connection with German agencies. A bitter political campaign was conducted by both parties during the presidential and Congressional elections in the summer and autumn of 1916.

Since the beginning of 1917 the Irish agitation has become progressively more intense. The declaration of war had little effect on the campaign conducted by The Friends of Irish Freedom, The Irish Progressive League, Bull, and the Gaelic-American, except that it masqueraded as a purely Irish patriotic movement. The connection with German agents, however, clearly appears, and it is believed that Mme. Victorica stimulated and financed the campaign.

It has been denied that the Sinn-Feiners of Ireland had direct relations with the German Government, and it is still denied, but the British Government has issued an official statement, including the following paragraphs:

"For some considerable time it was difficult to obtain accurate information as to German-Sinn-Fein plans, but about April, 1918, it was ascertained definitely that a plan for landing arms in Ireland was ripe for execution, and that the Germans only awaited definite information from Ireland as to the time, place and date.

"The British authorities were able to warn the Irish command regarding the probable landing of an agent from Germany from a submarine. The agent actually landed on April 12 and was arrested.

"The new rising depended largely upon the landing of munitions from submarines, and there is evidence to show that it was planned to follow a successful German offensive in the west and was to take place at a time when Great Britain presumably would be stripped of troops.

"According to documents found on his person, de Valera had worked out in great detail the constitution of his rebel army. He hoped to be able to muster 500,000 trained men. There is evidence that German munitions actually had been shipped on submarines from Cuxhaven in the beginning of May, and that for some time German submarines have been busy off the west coast of Ireland on other errands than the destruction of Allied shipping.

"It will thus be seen that the negotiations between the executive of the Sinn-Fein organization and Germany have been virtually continuous for three and a half years. At first a section of Irish-Americans was the intermediary for most of the discussions, but since America's entrance into the war the communication with the enemy has tended to be more direct. A second

rising in Ireland was planned for last year, and the scheme broke down only because Germany was unable to send troops.

"This year plans for another rising in connection with the German offensive on the Western Front were maturing, and a new shipment of arms from Germany was imminent.

"An important feature of every plan was the establishment of submarine bases in Ireland to menace the shipping of all nations.

"In the circumstances no other course was open to the Government if useless bloodshed was to be avoided and its duty to its allies fulfilled but to intern the authors and abettors of this criminal intrigue.

"Mr. Lloyd George also reiterated in his speech at Edinburgh his assertion that the Government possess irrefutable evidence of a conspiracy on the part of the Sinn-Feiners, though he completely exonerated the Nationalist leaders of any complicity in a plot. He said:

"All the indications in our possession point to the fact that the blow was timed for the moment when the German High Command deemed its preparations to crush the British Army in France had reached the culminating point. Had we shirked stern action without delay we should have deserved impeachment.

"Let me make one point clear: The Irish Nationalist leaders had nothing to do with it. They were not even cognizant of it. Of that I am convinced from the evidence. I am, therefore, not in the least surprised at the doubts they expressed as to its existence."

The London *Daily Mail* sums up the situation as follows:

"This, we are perfectly confident, is the state of affairs which American opinion will immediately pronounce intolerable, and which the United States Government will do its utmost to eradicate, for the Sinn-Feiners were aiming at the establishment of German submarine bases on the coast of Ireland, whence they might prey on the lives of American soldiers crossing the Atlantic to the battle fields of Flanders. They are aiding the enemy of the United States to use the most deadly weapon against the American Army and Navy—the weapon which, if it succeeded, would paralyze America's effort and strew the ocean with America's dead."

AUSTRALIA.

Even Australia has felt the virus of German intrigue. A former Attorney General of Australia, Mr. W. J. Denny, contributed to the *New York Times* an account of it that shows the attitude of the German scientist in contrast to the scientists of other nations. The Teutonic professors in Germany had already dismayed the world by their surrender to militarism at home. The following letter from Mr. Denny reveals them further:

"To the Editor of *The New York Times*:

"On that fateful day of August 4, 1914, when war was declared between Great Britain and Germany, the Society for the Advancement of Science, one of the most eminent coteries of knowledge

in the world, met in Australia for the first time. We felt honored, and as a member of the council of the Adelaide University I was privileged to be present.

"Naturally, the dread announcement overshadowed everything, including science. Anti-German feeling became manifest; but in those foolish old days we regarded our guests as merely 'victims' of the Kaiser's dream of world domination.

"A venerable and kindly looking old German professor of worldwide fame, with many academic degrees, rose to address the brilliant assemblage. He was greeted with a chorus of sympathetic cheers. 'No one,' he said, 'deplores this terrible conflict of physical against mental and moral force more than I do.' He was believed. The sessions of the society removed to Melbourne, and the amiable professor was everywhere sympathetically received. He was pitied. Then rumors commenced to circulate. It was alleged that his private sentiments were not consistent with his public statements or with his role of a disinterested scientist. The authorities took action, and, despite strong protests from this 'victim' of the war, searched his valise and found concealed in a small pocket a complete copy of the official plans of the naval fortifications and defenses of Melbourne! Needless to say, he was promptly and effectively dealt with; the plans never reached the Wilhelmstrasse.

"Another case was not dissimilar. This professor also ingratiated himself with his fellow-scientists, and to a friend remarked:

"'It is so terrible to be away from Germany and my people at this anxious time.'

"'Yes, indeed,' was the friend's answer, 'your wife and family will feel it deeply.'

"'Oh, it is not that,' replied the professor, 'but to be absent from the Fatherland at this time of spiritual awakening is beyond endurance.'

"The friend had not then read Treitschke, Nietzsche, and the host of Hun philosophers, statesmen, soldiers, and poets on the true significance of the spiritual awakening. He had not then read the Kaiser's proclamation, 'I am the instrument of the Most High. I am His sword and representative. Death and disaster to those who resist my will.' This friend was soon to learn of German perfidy; but meantime the professor had made certain discoveries, the sessions broke up, and he escaped!

"But these and other lessons were not lost. An effective campaign against Hun influence was at once launched. Every German school was closed, every German newspaper suppressed, the German language was prohibited, pro-German members of all public and private bodies were retired, every German town name was altered, and all trade contracts annulled. And the Australian Prime Minister is now able to declare that Australia had cut out the last vestige of the cancer of German influence and commercialism.

"Germany alone, of all the nations of the world, sends spies and emissaries to corrupt, disintegrate, and destroy free and peace-loving peoples. No one ever heard of American, English, or Australian spies—professors or otherwise—plotting against Germany. But German spies and German money and German influence permeated the earth, scheming to make the war map favorable for 'Der Tag.' Every grade of society was ushered into the service of the Wilhelmstrasse to further the Kaiser's interests, to spread poisonous literature, to dismember States, to

sow feuds, to promote uprisings, to commit outrages. 'Friendly' countries were to be weakened and if necessary, destroyed, to assist German aims in the carefully planned and inevitable world war.

"America has had many portents of Hun policy. The Kaiser's own declarations to Mr. Gerard are on record. But General von Bernhardt's disclosures of how Germany would treat the United States are not so well known—'Since England committed the unpardonable blunder, from her point of view, of not supporting the Southern States in the American war of secession, a rival to England's worldwide empire has appeared on the other side of the Atlantic.' In other words, Germany would not have committed that unpardonable blunder. She would have supported the Southern States and prevented the Union, not because the former were right, but because a United States would have stood in the path of German aggression.

"How, then, can German propaganda best be defeated? 'Eternal vigilance is the price of liberty' is the answer. Every case should therefore be treated on its merits. Facts, not outward appearances, must alone decide. But vigilance must be guided by justice and have no bad motives. To circulate unfair or misleading reports, to give information through malice or 'to work off a grudge is as un-American as it is un-British.

"But at all costs and at all hazards every pro-German must be discovered and scotched—once and forever. Till that time comes no nation can be free."

CHAPTER III.

VARIOUS FORMS OF PROPAGANDA.

THE CONTINENTAL TIMES.

The Germans have carried their propaganda to the extent of publishing not only the *Gazette des Ardennes* in French (see the previous reference to the *Bonnet Rouge*) but also a newspaper in the English language. This is printed in Berlin with branch offices in Hamburg, Rotterdam and Zürich. It is called "An independent cosmopolitan newspaper published in the interests of truth!" It was subsidized by the German Foreign Office, the subsidy taking the form of the purchase of 50,000 copies of each issue. The "responsible editor" is an irresponsible English renegade, named Aubrey Stanhope. One of his chief aides has been a renegade, American-born writer who has become a willing tool of the Germans. His parents were German, but he was educated in the United States, and attained some distinction both as a poet and a painter. It is stated that the success of a play of his in Berlin convinced him of the superiority of the Germans to all other races.

Under the pretense of making water-color sketches he spent several months in the Orkney Islands. It was discovered that he was really making observations for Germany, and he was put out of England. He established himself eventually in Switzerland and Germany, where he has been concerned in the publication of the *Continental Times*.

This American poet opposed his own country bitterly during the prosecution of the Spanish-American war, and now he finds no language too strong to express his contempt for us and his idolatry for Germany. He is so Germanophile that in a pamphlet called "A Letter from an American to an Englishman," published in the United States by a German (since interned), he declared the Germans to be such a noble race that anyone who opposes them, either by peace or war, commits a horrible offense against civilization.

The *Continental Times* has been distributed on many occasions by airships among the British front lines and latterly among the American. The majority of the soldiers are immune to such appeal just as the majority of them are unharmed by the gas shells sent over sometimes at the rate of 20,000 a day. But the effect is

equally military, and the end is the same: to destroy the effectiveness of our troops.

Such papers as the *Continental Times* are supplied with material not only by Germans and by Americans living in voluntary exile abroad, but also by quotations from Americans living in America and opposing our cause from here.

The speeches of certain Senators and Congressmen, editorials and sensational news, articles from various newspapers and magazines, criticisms of the efficiency or sincerity of our leaders, have been copied and widely distributed by the *Continental Times*, and by the German papers in Spain and Spanish America. They suffer nothing in the translation, and they give an impression of dissension, despair and feebleness in the United States, picturing this country alternately as in the throes of financial distress and as trying to extend her tyranny over the entire new world.

A favorite line of propaganda, which undoubtedly had a powerful influence in keeping many South American nations from joining us in declaring war on Germany, was the statement of the impossibility of our either raising an army or getting it overseas. The Liberty Loans were declared to be complete fiascos, American finance a wreck, the draft a failure, and the equipment of our troops an utter breakdown.

Ridiculous as are the lies that many of these papers publish, it is shamefully true that much of their best material is accurately quoted from Americans who have abused the freedom of press and speech and devoted their talents to opposing the success of every military step taken by this country.

PEACE OFFENSIVES.

The versatility of the propagandists is amazing. Germany has set her most eminent psychologists to work; her scientists, publishers, authors, editors, playwrights, film-producers, poets, preachers.

There seems to be no trickery to which they will not stoop.

At times it serves their purposes to picture Germany as prostrate with starvation and torn to pieces with revolution. At others she is invincible, united, and fat.

The German peace drives are notoriously insincere. Since they have been proved to be opening bombardments preparatory to the actual attack, they have come to be called "peace offensives."

The German militarists realize that when they undertake a push by force of arms, everything that weakens the determination of the enemy is as good as a bullet, or better. The most generous hints of the longing for peace are therefore put forth along with stories of a complete breakdown in preparation or morale, or as the occasion requires. The influence of these would naturally be to soften the hearts of their enemies, or give them a sense of false security.

They endeavor, on the other hand, at times to frighten the soldiers into panic. They picture German architecture wrecked by Allied airships and threaten reprisals of terrible extent. Among the pamphlets sent into the Allied lines recently by balloons and from airships, or otherwise smuggled in, there have been countless leaflets of appeal for peace urging the Allied soldiers to surrender and avoid bloodshed and the destruction of their home towns.

The contradictoriness of these appeals does not disturb the Germans, since they hope that what does not capture one Allied mood will capture another.

An eloquent exposure of German peace offensives is made by Professor George D. Herron, who was accused of conducting negotiations with Germany from Switzerland. He indignantly denied the charge and has given his opinion of German propaganda in the *New York Times* for June 30, 1918:

"Germany's new peace offensive has begun. As carefully prepared, as scientifically worked out, as the military offensive it is meant to parallel, and employing the same mass tactics, the peace army is already crossing the Rhine; soon it will be swarming over Switzerland. Soon, as on former occasions, will its wheedling proposals, its whining voices, be echoing from Alp to Alp, be resounding in the streets of the Swiss cities. Especially will these hosts of the German good-will set up their lamentations, their shameless rehearsals, by the doorsteps of English and American citizens who now make Switzerland their home.

"Let us prepare for the worst. All the physical horrors, the unimaginable savageries, the new and original sensualities, that are the inevitable commonplace of German military progress—these will have their counterpart in the spiritual horrors, in the mental and moral grossness, in the serpentry and charlatanry, of this approaching offensive for a German peace. Nor let us forget, furthermore, that the peace offensive may prove more dangerous to the Entente and to America, more perilous to the cause of democracy, more destructive to the moral being of humanity, than all the might of the co-ordinated German armies.

"Each peace offensive of Germany comes with its own special theme. When her military triumph seemed in doubt, her emissaries perpetrated in Petrograd the vile deception of 'no annexations and no indemnities.' With the threads of this satanic web the pacifist weavers overran the world. If the Entente and

America had only been caught in the web, then by the principle of 'no annexations and no indemnities' Germany could have retained Alsace-Lorraine and Poland, and have achieved the monstrous injustice of leaving Belgium unindemnified and unrestored. The trick failed; the German web was dissolved in the imbecile grief of the pacifists.

"The trick next tried was the scarcely concealed hypocrisy of Count Hertling's deliverance before the Reichstag—his crude pretense of accepting President Wilson's famous Four Principles. It was then that Germany's peace army so crowded Switzerland that there was scarcely room for enlightened or honest men to stand in. Some of us suffered what I fear will be a permanent exhaustion as a result of then trying to follow the twistings and turnings of the German mentality.

"The Four Principles must be so interpreted, according to the peace mongers, that the question of Alsace-Lorraine be not touched. Untouched, also, must be the question of Poland. Nor must the question of Belgium's indemnities be raised in such way as to put Germany in the wrong. Germany must be permitted to accept the Four Principles in shadow and reject them in substance. They must be so applied, when the peace congress should assemble, as to give Germany everything she wanted.

"The second trick failed, as the first had failed. The peace army was unable to so capture and exploit the Four Principles as to make our President the unwilling medium of a German peace.

"And we are to learn that it is his fault that peace was not long ago concluded, and that Germany was compelled to make the present offensive. If President Wilson had been a little more conciliatory each time he spoke; if he had only begged Germany a little harder to stop fighting; if he had only told her that she could keep Alsace-Lorraine—and all other parts of the world she could lay hands on; then, at one time or another, Germany might have made peace. But just because the American President has been so misinformed about Germany, just because he has not been patient enough in hesecing and understanding this truthful and tender-hearted people, the sorrowing Hindenburg and Archangel Ludendorff are now compelled to lead the weeping German army against the enemies they love and would so gladly save. It is upon the imperious soul of our President that the woeful responsibility of the present German military offensive rests.

"It is a peace offensive, O stupid Englishmen and Americans—a peace offensive, mind you, not a military offensive, that Germany is pursuing by this unimaginable slaughter on the Somme and in Flanders. Has not this been explained to us, oh, so sadly, oh, so sweetly, by the hither-hastening heralds of the peace army? The new death roll of a million of men—which Germany has so quickly written in France—is an appeal for peace. Do you not understand? The far-firing gun which slew a church full of worshippers, including the beloved honored M. and Mme. Stroeclin of the Swiss Legation; the bomb that crushed the public nursery of toddling children, tended during the absence of their working mothers; these were peace measures—the only method by which the pitiful German could reach the hard-hearted Frenchman and Englishman. Is not this perfectly clear? And the bomb that dropped into a little Paris birthroom, where a baby that had been an hour born was blown to fragments, along with its mother and the attending sagefemme—especially should incidents like

this, according to Germany's interpretation of her offensive, have a soothing effect on American nerves and persuade our President to enter into relations of blood-brotherhood with the Kaiser.

"There need be no doubt on the part of Germany that her present military offensive is having an effect upon American nerves, upon American minds, upon American wills—such an effect as will make the preparing peace offensive as useless as it is loathsome—ending forever any American thought of discussing peace with Germany's masters.

"Not from America will Germany receive peace—not if Germany has all Europe in her hands; not if America must fight for a hundred years. Nor now, nor at any time in the future, nor in the shadow of any conceivable German triumph, nor while a single American flag widens to one of the world's breezes, will America or Americans make peace with the Germany that now is. Either the Germany that now is or America must cease to dwell upon this planet; for Germany is making the planet uninhabitable for men who can really claim to be human. Either Germany must utterly cease to be what she is, or she must fight America until she or America come to an end; for there breathes no true American who does not now prefer death for himself, for his beloved ones, and for his country, to any life that he or they could possibly live in a world that had become a German dominion.

"I am speaking, it is true, as a single unofficial individual; but I am no less voicing the increasing feeling of the American nation as a whole, and of the average American man."

GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN GERMANY.

While there has been incessant effort to convince the German people of the divinity of the imperial family, they have grown increasingly restless under its pretensions and insolences and under the exactions of famine, death and commercial confusion.

It has been necessary, therefore, to give them sedatives and stimulants in the form of propaganda. As anything that keeps them fighting must also keep us fighting, it is interesting to select from the enormous mass of German propaganda against Germany a few typical examples of how America is presented to Germany over a year after our declaration of war.

At first the German people were assured that the United States would be torn to pieces by the uprising of the millions of its German sympathizers. When this lie failed, they were told that the United States neither would nor could raise an army; next that having raised one, it could neither transport it nor supply it across the submarine-controlled ocean.

The sinking of the *Tuscania* with the loss of 200 soldiers was trumpeted as the proof of this prophecy. When it could no longer be denied that American troops were arriving, the next step was to minimize their numbers. Following that, it was necessary to

discredit their value; they were called "lightning-trained" and unimportant against the German soldiers trained to militarism from childhood.

Simultaneously much advertisement was made of the inability of the United States to provide equipment or even to run its trains or coal its ships. The coal shortage was celebrated as proof of complete breakdown. The aircraft and shipbuilding delay as another. Criticisms by Americans in Congress or the press were published broadcast.

The first American prisoners captured were paraded about Germany and their alleged confessions of hopeless inferiority printed together with statements that the war was neither understood nor approved in America.

The *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the ultra-militarist organ, published a two column article showing that the United States was a nation of plebeians made up of immigrants.

American seamen were represented as green and ignorant and incapable of running the engines of the ships they confiscated.

Financial panic ruled in the United States, according to the German papers, and it was necessary to curb the fears by threats of lynching.

The suppression of the German language newspapers or their alignment with the loyal elements was described by some as a proof of American tyranny, by others as a proof of the treachery of low-class German immigrants to their Vaterland.

The Overman bill's centralization of power in the President was said by the *Norddeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* of April 23, 1918, to "reveal the secret longing for the German unity and efficiency."

An excellent study of the German newspapers, their censorship, the things they dare to say and dare not say, and their influence as means of governmental propaganda is to be found in Victor S. Clark's article in the *Atlantic Monthly* for July, 1918, "The German Press and German Opinion."

Ridicule is, of course, one of the keenest tools for propaganda. The German humorists did not fail to make hay while the sun shone. A cloud has come over their gaiety, according to a writer in the *New York Times*:

"The German sense of humor has undergone a radical change, and cartoons depicting the American Army a pigmy no longer make the German people laugh. Travelers returning from the Netherlands tell how Uncle Sam is being nourished by the Hun

cartoonists at a rate which will soon make him visible without the aid of a microscope.

"Since we declared war, and up to four months ago, the United States Army was never pictured in Europe, and much amusement was derived by caricaturing President Wilson's efforts to send a handful of soldiers to parade the villages of France to shout college yells. Our President was often portrayed as tearing his hair and trying to get American labor to 'hurry' and complete a paper boat while thousands of sturdy troops were waiting to embark. The building of our paper marine was being done by German laborers with their tongues in their cheeks, and when they condescended to drive a spike they did it through the bottom of the ship.

"Four months ago these funny pictures, for some reason, ceased being amusing and the sturdy troops waiting at the docks were transported to Europe and ridiculed as weaklings. A boche aviator was pictured reporting to von Hindenburg that he had located the American Army asleep under a baby carriage. One cartoon entitled 'U. S. A. Scare-crow Army,' showed the Stars and Stripes in a corral surrounded by straw soldiers on exhibition. Another caricature, now out of vogue, portrayed an emaciated Uncle Sam dressed in the clothes of John Bull, which were made to fit by padding out his anatomy with New York newspaper boasts.

"Today in order to tickle the German sense of the ridiculous, our army is depicted nearly large enough to warrant a hearty laugh and almost strong enough to annoy one Hun division. Not so much space, however, is devoted to funny pictures in the daily papers, and one must turn to the editorial page to see any allusion to our 'despicable army,' as it is never dignified by mention in the war news columns. These printed banalities do their best to gradually enlighten the people to the fact that our troops are 'over there.' The *Kreuz-Zeitung*, the ultra imperialistic Berlin newspaper, printed an editorial three weeks ago which began: 'It must be expected that by next Spring our new enemy will be able to muster about a million men on the western front, but—' This 'but' was followed by soothing, lullaby words to put the German mind in a comatose state. The Germans are starting a systematic propaganda to prevent the people from 'waking up' too suddenly."

Sympathy with America could hardly be expected from the German press, but it is striking to see how each new situation is met by the sleepless propagandists.

One of their tasks has been the persuasion of the public to the aims of the Government. In the Krupp works there are placards stating: "We feed forty million Russians and they rejoice to be under Germany's wing."

Industrial Germany conducts an incessant propaganda in favor of the retention of Belgium and Northern France and every shift of policy finds its reflection in a drive for public opinion. President Wilson stated that the German Government does not represent the German people. It is necessary for the propagandists to induce the people to represent the Government.

The suppression of newspapers that do not fall into line is sharp and severe. The censorship of public speech and of books and pamphlets opposing the annexationist policies of the Junker element is stringent and brutal.

THE NEWS AGENCIES.

According to Carl W. Ackerman, in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* of April 6, 1918, German propaganda is already laying its plans for the far future:

"A great newspaper trust is being formed in Germany and Austria-Hungary today by the war industries, the military leaders and the Fatherland party. Already important journals have been purchased in Berlin, Hamburg, Dresden, Bremen, Leipsic, Dantzic, Essen, Dusseldorf, Frankfort, Munich and Vienna. In addition the Wolff Bureau, the only news-distributing agency in Germany, and the Overseas News Service, which sends wireless dispatches from Berlin to the outside world, are controlled by this triple alliance of war business, war makers and war politicians.

"Fighting this organization, which seeks to monopolize the news channels of the two monarchies, are a few independent newspapers, the Social Democrats and the leaders of the Liberal party. Though these forces are waging a determined, relentless and severe fight for the freedom of the press, they are making little progress. The triple alliance has mobilized the money, power and influence of the nation, and it seeks today to manufacture and export German public opinion.

"Germany today is a war business organization more than it ever was before. And it is because this trust, which I have called the triple alliance, sees that it cannot dominate the government without controlling the press that it is campaigning today in the German newspapers. It is because this trust is looking ahead to the period after the war that it is mobilizing the export news channels of Germany to influence the world when peace is made. And the plans which the Alliance has made strike at the foundations of the American and Entente press freedom.

"Germany's first move after the war, according to the plans which 'victorious' Berlin is making, is to be directed against the news-distributing agencies of England, France and the United States. German business men, army officers and statesmen have always maintained that if the government had spent billions of marks on foreign news propaganda years before the war the world would not be fighting Germany today. Perhaps they think the world would have been afraid to fight! Whether their opinion is sound is not our concern. The fact is that the enemy believes this, and the present leaders of Germany intend to conquer the world after the war with news and business.

"We may ask how this can be accomplished, we may consider it impossible; but the fact remains that the money has been raised, the foundations have been laid, and all the triple alliance is awaiting is a German victory to end the war so the press campaign may begin.

"Recently in Berne I met an Austrian journalist who had come from Vienna for a brief visit in Switzerland.

"The Krupp interests and the Pan-Germanists,' he declared, 'own or control, through advertising agencies, every German-language newspaper in Vienna.'

"It would be impossible, of course, for any German organization to go to the United States or any other large country after the war and purchase a sufficient number of newspapers to influence public opinion, and the triple alliance does not intend to do so. It has a better method! About two years ago the newspaper experts of the German Government and the press representatives of Krupp and the big shipping companies began an investigation to find out the best means of influencing public opinion in foreign countries. The methods which made German propaganda famous during the war were considered bad. The Western world, so it was concluded, was too busy to be interested in long editorial articles, but it was interested at all times in news dispatches.

"As an experiment the Overseas News Agency, which was then supplying the American newspapers with wireless news from Berlin, was bought by the Krupp interests, and once or twice each day news from Berlin and other cities of Europe was sent to Sayville, Long Island, and from there distributed in the United States. By watching the American newspapers closely the directors of this new propaganda decided that American news channels could be influenced by news, if in no other way.

"Though the Overseas News Agency was succeeding, before the United States broke diplomatic relations, in getting thousands of items printed in the American press, this success was not considered by the war industries so great as it could be, so they made other plans. And these are the ones which the triple alliance expects to execute when peace is made."

BREAKING THE NEWS OF THE AMERICAN EXPEDITIONARY FORCES.

At last the day has come when the German propagandist has the most delicate task of announcing the arrival of a great American army. The first admissions are described in dispatches to the *Times* of June 13, 1918, by George Renwick. The military critic, General von Liebert, of the *Tägliche Rundschau* of Berlin, sounds the opening note:

"Germany has hitherto only threatened us by means of military statistics, but now she appears herself on the field of battle. She has come out of the stage of preparation for war and entered that of the actual fighting. So says General von Liebert, military critic of the *Tagliche Rundschau* of Berlin. He terms the United States 'Germany's new enemy.'

"He cannot help expressing surprise that nothing has been heard about the sinking of American transports by U-boats, and hopes that Germany's latest undersea cruisers are after that prey.

"The *Tägliche Rundschau* editorially informs its readers that the war has entered the American stage, the last and greatest of all, and that the German authorities know full well that this final part of the struggle is not far off.

"Such statements are in keeping with the information I have from a reliable source to the effect that the instructions have

been sent around to the German press, informing the newspapers that it will be advisable gradually to prepare the country for the news of the active participation of American forces in strength on the west front.

"Such orders are being carried out in typical German style and just as the authorities doubtless desire. Numerous correspondents have been permitted to report that there are 500,000 Americans on this side of the water. Having said so, they proceed to calm the Fatherland's nerves with the assurance that of course half that number are employed on the lines of communication while the other half are worth nothing.

"So far the official and semi-official statements have nothing but American defeats to report, but the fact that the American forces are making themselves felt is one that can no longer be hidden from the German people, and these quotations are given to show that the authorities think it well that the period of wild, unbridled sneering and despising of Americans as actual factors on the western front had better be brought gradually to a close."

PROPAGANDA BY ADVERTISING MONOPOLIES.

In the effort to control the press of the world, the Germans discovered that a tremendous leverage could be exerted by securing control of the advertising business through the agencies.

To purchase a great number of newspapers would be a ruinous expense. But a monopoly of advertising would effect the same result at a profit instead of a loss. In an article in the *Atlantic Monthly*, June, 1918, one "Lysis" gives the complete story of this far-sighted move.

It began with the firm of Haasenstein and Vogler, formed in 1882 and cooperating with a Swiss named Georg. The offices were at Geneva. In 1902 branches were established in Italian cities with Germans as managers. Secret contracts were secured with eighty-one Italian papers, giving the agency the right to veto "all advertisements which it may deem injurious or inopportune." They practically monopolized the advertising business and thereby exerted great influence over editorial policies and compelled the publication of doctored dispatches and propaganda.

When Italy joined the Allies the agency and its local managers took an Italian name and passed for a Swiss concern. Many Italian papers broke with the concern, but the advertising monopoly still gave it great power.

In France the same company under the same Swiss disguise established itself and according to "Lysis," proceeded "to make itself by slow degrees master of the French press." Georg added a large bill-posting business, with branches in many towns, and

used this as a club, threatening to resort to bill board advertising and dispense with the newspapers.

The firm extended its ambitions to America in 1914 and secured many American advertising clients. The business was sequestered eventually in France; but it is believed that it will increase again. Plans for combating the world-wide hostility to German wares after the war are already being laid.

CHAPTER IV.

GERMAN PROPAGANDA IN AMERICA.

The German invasion of America began long ago. Vast numbers of Germans have come to this country to breathe the air of liberty and they have made their home their new Fatherland. Their Americanism is all the stronger for their knowledge of old world conditions. Their sons are among the best of our soldiers.

But others came from Germany for commercial reasons alone. They looked upon the United States as a future colony of Germany. They lost no opportunity to spread the language of Germany, to preach the superiority of her institutions and the inferiority of ours.

They drew into their net many who were simply held to Germany by affection for their native land. They used these unsuspecting persons as instruments.

Numberless musical, athletic, financial and other Vereins and Bunds conceived in the most innocent of spirits have been regarded as opportunities to delay the absorption of the Germans into American life.

The motives of the bulk of the membership were honest and their aim merely to keep tender memories aglow. But the honest Germans were in many cases the unsuspecting dupes of manipulators.

THE DELBRÜCK LAW.

Thanks to the amazing Delbrück Law, passed in 1913, it was made legal for a German to have two countries. He was permitted to accept citizenship in sixteen other countries if it were to his advantage, without sacrificing his allegiance to Germany.

The willingness of a nation to give official sanction to such a scheme for perjury with a mental reservation is one of the most eloquent evidences of the German stop-at-nothing policy. The law was the result of the efforts of the Pan-German League and the League for Germanism in Foreign Lands. It provided that "citizenship is not lost by one who, acquiring foreign citizenship, has secured on application the written consent of the proper authorities of his home state to retain his citizenship." Doctor Delbrück himself thus explained the law that year in a speech to the Reichstag:

"The Empire of Germany has also quite another interest now in attaching to itself all Germans who have emigrated, for the motives of emigration have in great part become quite different from what they were formerly. The German who emigrates now no longer does so with a view of separating himself economically and politically from his country; on the contrary, the large majority of those who emigrate go with the object of serving their country economically and politically. * * * It is true that we recognize that there are cases where the German citizen abroad may have an interest in acquiring side by side with his old nationality a new nationality, the possession of which would still allow his usefully representing the interests of his Fatherland."

Of this law David Lawrence says in an article in the *Saturday Evening Post* for June 15, 1918:

"It meant that the Germans who went to America could become naturalized if it helped them in their business and to financial prosperity, but at the same time they would not forfeit their German citizenship.

"This was not peculiar to America. There are and have been similar alliances in many countries of the world, all engaged in the same work. They are working in Denmark, Holland, Belgium, Northern France, Switzerland, Bohemia, Moravia, the Baltic provinces, Russian Poland, the Russian provinces along the Black Sea and elsewhere in Europe, and in the South American countries, such as Chile, Argentina and Brazil.

"Though figures are not available for recent years, there were up to 1902 no less than 5,240 schools spread throughout the world where only German was spoken. Brazil had six hundred of them in the southern provinces, where the Germans hoped some day to separate and establish a real German colony—something that came as near being a violation of the Monroe Doctrine as anything the Prussians attempted before 1914.

"About five hundred of these schools existed in the United States in 1902, and they have been increased since. They didn't receive any financial backing from the German Government, but were supported by religious bodies of German origin. They became in many cases outspoken in spreading German propaganda, and some have not even ceased since the United States entered the war. This is entirely aside from the many public schools where the population is almost entirely German. In the State schools in Nebraska and Wisconsin, for instance, maintained by taxation, there are German teachers of German descent and of strongly developed German affiliations. In one of the States the law requires that during nine months of the year school shall be held four months in English and five months in German."

THE GERMAN SPY SYSTEM.

An officer of the Military Intelligence has summarized the activities of German agents as follows:

The German Foreign Office is in charge of propaganda and the attack along ethnographic, religious and political lines. Its agents

are chosen for their social and intellectual qualifications, and appear to consider themselves greatly superior to the agents of other systems.

The German Admiralty Intelligence is in charge of sabotage, destruction of shipping and information as to naval matters.

Boy-Ed, Naval Attaché at Washington, appears to have started work along these lines in this country, but does not appear to have given satisfaction.

Rintelen, Captain Naval Reserve, attached to the Admiralty staff, claims to have superseded Boy-Ed and even to have acted independently of Bernstorff. Rintelen's activities consisted principally in the destruction of shipping by fire-bombs, the fomenting of strikes and the movement for an embargo against the export of munitions.

Wunnenberg was employed by Wilhelm, said to be the head of the Admiralty Intelligence, and was trained in the methods for the destruction of shipping of the naval base in Wilhelmshaven. Rutherford, Bacon and Hastings sent by him to England as spies, were furnished with questionnaires about naval matters.

The German Army Intelligence appears to have been in charge of military operations in the United States, of slowing up the manufacture of munitions by commercial operations, and of smuggling contraband into Germany or into neutral countries for eventual use in Germany.

Personnel. It is not believed that the Stieber system of planting spies was extensively carried out in this country. In the first place, Germany did not, in the years preceding 1914, expect that the war would last so long or that the United States would be actively involved. In the second place, Germany had reason to believe that the German-American population would remain loyal to the Fatherland and would therefore furnish an unlimited supply of recruits, admirably adapted to the purpose.

Financing. Albert, head of the German High Commission, commercial attaché of the German Embassy, who came in September and left in February, 1917, had charge of the financing of all the German agents in this country, with the exception of Rintelen. All expenditures of \$10,000 or over were submitted to him for approval. Funds were derived from the sales of German bonds, Red Cross subscriptions, etc., or by wireless transfers from Germany. In certain cases, particularly in criminal transactions directed by the Admiralty, funds were not provided by Albert, but

were transferred direct from Germany under cover of commercial transactions.

Since February, 1917, funds have been furnished from Germany through banking and commercial houses. It is also believed that considerable funds were left in this country in dormant accounts for future use.

A strict accounting, characterized by German thoroughness, has been required of all agents. A part of these accounts are still in possession of the Swiss diplomatic officers, who took over German interests in February, 1917. Others probably have been left for safekeeping with sympathizers.

THE PROPAGANDA MACHINE.

A general review of the German campaign against America has been given out just as this book goes to press. It is quoted at length from the July 15, 1918, issue of the *New York Times*:

"The whole German propaganda which was put in operation before the European war was a month old, and the purpose of which was to debauch public opinion in the United States in favor of Germany and Austria-Hungary, is on the eve of being exposed. The Government is now in possession of the names of practically the entire personnel employed by the Germans.

"These men are now being sought by Federal agents, and as fast as located are taken to the office of Attorney General Merton E. Lewis at 51 Chambers Street for examination. Included among those who were identified with the propaganda are several Americans, some of them writers of more than local fame.

"'And I may add,' said Deputy Attorney General Alfred L. Becker yesterday, 'that among the Americans who had a part in this German hatched plot to influence public opinion in this country, were two or three who have been violently patriotic of late.'

"The headquarters of the propaganda machine were at 1153 Broadway, in the offices of the German Red Cross Commission to the United States, of which Dr. Bernard Dernburg, Captain Ewald Hecker and Dr. Karl Fuehr were members. Until Dr. Dernburg was ordered to leave the country he was the head of the propaganda machine. When he left Dr. Albert took the helm, and when Dr. Albert received his walking papers, the late Hugo Schweitzer, who was named in the treason indictments recently handed down by the Federal Grand Jury, took charge.

"There was, Mr. Becker explained yesterday, a regular Board of Directors, the representatives of the Kaiser on the board being Captain Karl Boy-Ed, Captain Franz von Papen, Dr. Dernburg, Dr. Fuehr, Captain Hecker, and Dr. Albert, with Count von Bernstorff exercising supreme authority as chairman ex officio. For reasons which are obvious, Mr. Becker said, it was not advisable at this time to make public the names of the Americans who were concerned in the activities of the alien propagandists.

"'At the proper time,' added Mr. Becker, 'those names will be given to the public.'

"It was stated at the office of the Attorney General that Dr. Edward A. Rumely, arrested a week ago as a result of his connection with the then German owned *Evening Mail*, was an almost daily visitor to the headquarters at 1153 Broadway. Two New York lawyers, who were close to von Bernstorff and who acted as his legal advisers in matters of first importance, also conferred with the Board on numerous occasions. These lawyers had a prominent part in the negotiations which led to the acquisition of the *Mail* by the Kaiser.

"The German Red Cross Commission, which came over as official camouflage for the Kaiser's propaganda machine, arrived in this country about four weeks after the outbreak of the war. Dernburg came as head of the commission, and in one of his first interviews, printed in the *Times* of September 6, 1914, he said:

"I have come here to make arrangements for co-operation between the Red Cross Society of Germany and that of the United States. Of course, the Germans will do what they can to facilitate the work of all whose humanitarian impulses lead them to assist us in this hour of national stress."

"Within a few days after he landed the German Red Cross office was opened at 1153 Broadway, on the floor above the editorial rooms of the pro-German weekly known as *The Fatherland*, and the editor of which was George Sylvester Viereck. Mr. Viereck, it was said at the office of the Attorney General, visited the Red Cross offices of Dernburg, Fuehr and Hecker on many occasions.

"The fact that the German Government, as one of its first acts after the war started, took advantage of the Red Cross as a cloak to poison the minds of the citizens of the United States was definitely established by the Attorney General about four weeks ago. Certain documents and other data which came into the possession of Attorney General Lewis, with subsequent important admissions by persons who have been examined in the course of the investigation, proved beyond doubt that so far as Germany was concerned the German Red Cross is and has been since she went to war a part of the imperial war machine, and used as a camouflage to cloak propagandist and spy activities in enemy and neutral countries. So far as concern the activities of certain Americans in the propaganda campaign which was waged from the beginning of the war and up to several months subsequent to this country's entrance into it, the following statement was made at the office of Attorney General Lewis last night:

"The Government (the Attorney General is acting for the Federal Government) is continuing the examination of witnesses. We have examined a large number in the last few days. Our purpose is to get everybody who is now in the United States who was concerned in the operation of the German propaganda in this country. We expect to identify and expose those still in the United States and to name those who are out of our jurisdiction, that is, who are now domiciled in enemy or neutral countries."

"That the case of the *Evening Mail* and its purchase by the German Government is only one feature of the investigation was emphasized by Deputy Attorney General Becker.

"The ramifications in this case," said Mr. Becker, "do not extend to Rumely alone. Rumely is only a cog in a very big machine. I may add that there are some witnesses whose testimony is desired by the authorities who are keeping under cover. It would be the part of wisdom on the part of these persons to come forward at once. By so doing they may save themselves a lot of trouble later on."

"When Dernburg was not present at the meeting of the Propaganda Board, at 1153 Broadway, Mr. Becker said, Boy-Ed or von Papen and sometimes Dr. Albert directed the work. Every phase of the situation in the United States was discussed at these meetings and plans mapped out to combat the pro-Ally sentiment which was sweeping the country. Persons, in numerous instances whose services could be had for a price and whose pro-Germanism was sufficiently pronounced to make them worthy of trust by the Germans, were invited to meet the members of the board and contracts entered into with them. Dr. Fuehr, who has been the head of the German Secret Service in Japan, handled the financial end of the negotiations and, Mr. Becker said, issued pay checks which were cashed at the office of the Hamburg-American Line.

"Were the checks for large or small amounts?" Mr. Becker was asked.

"I can assure you," he replied, "that Fuehr was no piker."

"A part of the elaborate scheme which was worked out by the Dernburg 'Red Cross' machine was the establishment of a direct news service, controlled by the German Government, between Berlin and New York. This was to be made possible by using the service of the Transoceanic News Service, a German propaganda organization, with branches in every country in the world at the present time, except those at war with the Central Powers. The news was sold at a nominal cost when possible, but if necessary was to be supplied to all papers willing to print it free of charge.

"While all this plotting was going on Dernburg was still representing himself in America as the representative of the German Red Cross, despite the fact that he was daily giving out interviews in an effort to switch the public opinion of the country to the Kaiser. For several months Dernburg continued to make his headquarters at 1153 Broadway, and did not change them until some of the newspapers began to print stories to the effect that his 'Red Cross' activities were only camouflage for unneutral work in this country.

"Dernburg then changed his headquarters to the Ritz-Carlton Hotel and continued it there until his departure from the country in June, 1915. He continued, however, to attend the meetings of the board at 1153 Broadway, where after his departure Hecker was nominally in charge as 'Red Cross Commissioner.'

"Dernburg, who was ordered to leave the country following his efforts to justify the murder of the passengers on the Lusitania, is said to have received as head of the 'Red Cross Commission' more than \$1,985,000 from Germans and German sympathizers in the United States. Whether or not all of this money reached Germany or whether a considerable part of it was used in propaganda and plot work in the United States is a feature of the case that Attorney General Lewis expects to solve. Three days after Dernburg left, and after Albert had succeeded to the Chairmanship of the Propaganda Board, Captain Hecker announced that he had succeeded Dernburg as 'Red Cross Commissioner' and issued an appeal for more 'Red Cross' funds.

"In this hour," he said, "we need our friends more than ever and depend upon their further aid to carry on our charitable work."

"Hecker, however, did not succeed to Dernburg's high position on the Propaganda Board. That mantle fell on the shoulders of Dr. Heinrich Albert, the chief paymaster of the whole German war machine in this country. Albert held the job until he was

ordered out of the country in March, 1917, and after that time and until his death Schweitzer was the nominal head of the board."

THE GERMAN-AMERICAN ALLIANCE.

One of the most powerful organizations for propaganda in America has been the Deutsch-Amerikanischer Bund, generally known as the German-American Alliance. It reached a membership of two million members. It began with the local grouping of German singing, athletic and other societies. These were amalgamated into State alliances and these into a national body in 1901.

After many annual conventions a national charter was secured from Congress in 1907. That charter was dissolved in 1918 after a startling exposure of the aims and achievements of the Alliance.

As at home, the German theory of autocracy is instilled into the infant mind, so this American representative made a determined effort to secure control over the schools of America; to introduce the study of the German language and, of course, incidentally of German propaganda in all schools, and the exclusive use of the German language in as many as possible. This last end had been attained in 500 parochial schools. In some of the States public moneys were used for the support of schools in which German was taught altogether, for portions of the year.

To resist assimilation into the American ideal was the determination. The President, Charles J. Hexamer, at a convention, dared to say in an address:

"We have long suffered the preachment that 'you Germans must allow yourselves to be assimilated. You must merge with the American people.' But no one will ever find us prepared to descend to an inferior Kultur."

Again as late as November, 1915, he said: "We will not permit our Kultur of two thousand years to be trodden down in this land. * * * We are giving this people here the best thing there is on earth, Germanic Kultur."

State legislatures were packed and politicians overawed into giving the avowedly insoluble element powers that seem incredible now. There was hardly a town in America where this Alliance was not at work. It had ten thousand local societies taking constant care to holding the young of German heritage "in the bonds of Germanism," as the *Alldeutsche Blätter* phrases it, and filling young American minds with reverence for German Kultur, even to the extent of forcing Teutonic schoolbooks on them.

A year later a writer for the same Gazette proclaimed that "It is the duty of everyone who loves languages to see that the future language spoken in America shall be German. Germans need only grasp the situation and the future is theirs."

The German-American Alliance published a regular magazine, *Mitteilungen des D-A. B.*, also yearbooks that make astonishing reading now, though the whole conduct of the Imperial Government confirms the plan of universal domination by any means. The yearbooks recorded incessant attacks on legislatures and school boards and boasted of political power ruthlessly wielded.

The supreme impudence was the raising of funds "to combat nativistic efforts." For immigrants to coin such a word as "nativistic" for the desire of their new country to maintain its institutions is the sublimity of disloyalty.

It is small wonder that Hexamer, the President, was decorated by the Kaiser in 1904 with the Fourth Order of the Red Eagle.

The Russian revolutionists who published the secret documents they found, included among their exposures this circular telegram from the German Government:

"It is brought to your knowledge that in the countries where you are accredited there have been founded special bureaus for organizing propaganda in countries of the coalition at war with Germany. The propaganda will have for its aim the inception of social movements accompanied by strikes, revolutionary explosions, separatist movements and civil war, as well as an agitation in favor of disarmament and the cessation of this bloody war."

The ten thousand branches of the German-American Alliance were so many centers of propaganda and they sprang into activity at the outbreak of the war. President Hexamer a month later was ready with this pronouncement in the official organ:

"In every city there should be a bureau of literature with an efficient press agent established, a press agent who should react immediately in the English language upon all hostile attacks and statements of ignorance of irresponsible reporters of English newspapers.

"Furthermore in every branch of this organization collections should be inaugurated whose proceeds should be kept for the use of the national executive of the National German-American Alliance right up to the time when the national executive in accordance with the purpose of these collections may apply them for our relations in Germany or at any other place where a crying need is directed to us."

To quote again from David Lawrence's article:

"This was followed by a summons 'to all German instructors, all who have studied in German universities and to every German who is literarily inclined' to handle the American press, which meant a counter propaganda designed to make Americans disbelieve German aggression in Belgium and the horrors that German Kultur had imposed on peaceful neighbors and the civilized world.

"Newspapers in Germany were prompt to praise the American citizens of German descent for performing such good 'military service' to Germany.

"That military service, to be sure, was nothing more nor less than embarrassing the United States Government by seeking to make it adopt pro-German policies. There were organized in this country, moreover, several societies that did not have the official sanction of the German-American Alliance or any direct connection, but whose officers and members were identical in many cases with the executive committees of state and city alliances; and all worked to influence the United States to be unneutral and pro-German.

"The embargo conference at Chicago in 1915 is a case in point. It pretended to be an organization of Americans, but its funds were discovered by the Department of Justice to have come from German sources. Of similar character were the Friends of Peace, the American Neutrality League, the American Independence Union, the American Truth Society and Labor's National Peace Council. It has been proved that Franz von Rintelen, the bomb plotter, now in the Federal penitentiary, furnished hundreds of thousands of dollars to some of these organizations. The National German-American Alliance did not act as a whole or officially toward these organizations, but individuals did who received their inspiration from the alliance. And so the work of Germanizing America went on before we entered the war—and many years before the European War itself came.

"By spreading propaganda through the schools and German societies in states, cities and towns the tragedy of Belgium was made to appear as a fabrication, the sinkings without warning of passenger vessels were justified, and incessant efforts were made to get America to cripple the Allies by cutting off the flow of munitions. Through the German language press and the German colonies, where German teachers taught the American children of German parents, a spirit in favor of the Fatherland was preserved that transcended any enthusiasm that has since been shown for the United States on entering the war.

"And the National German-American Alliance had a Federal charter granted it by Congress in 1907! When Senator King, of Utah, started the agitation to have the charter revoked the alliance voluntarily dissolved and thought it would forestall action, but the Senators construed the move as merely an effort to maintain the organization after the war. So the Senate Judiciary Committee unanimously recommended revoking the charter.

"But the discussion incident to the German-American Alliance's activities produced two very live questions: Shall the teaching of German be abolished in American schools? Shall the German-language press be prohibited from circulation?"

It should be emphasized that the guilt of the officials and leaders of the Alliance was not shared by all the members. Great

numbers of them never dreamed that they were being used. They were not aware that the Alliance was a branch of the Pan-German League. As soon as they understood this, they were sincere in their eagerness to escape from the association and to dissolve it. In many cases the funds in the treasury were turned over to the Red Cross. The national officials took legal steps to dissolve the Alliance, but this was not accepted as legal, and on July 2, 1918, the King resolution repealing the charter was passed by the Senate unanimously.

All the while, however, the propaganda went on to carry out the Pan-German ideal of a solid block of German elements in every country, and a truceless war against other races. In the *Mitteilungen* of the Alliance, Vol. 7, No. 9, p. 4, appeared this fierce doctrine:

"The National Alliance leads the battle against Anglo-Saxonism, against the fanatical slaves of political and personal liberty. It battles against narrow-hearted dark know-nothingism, against the British influence, against the zealotism which sprang from England and against the slavery of Puritanism."

"Only in vigorous unity does the welfare of American Germanism rest. Every division of our powers is a betrayal of the cause of German Kultur."

The political solidarity of the Alliance is shown in the Bulletin for April, 1916, page 17, where an ex-Congressman thus addresses the readers:

"Just as Europe has fallen upon Germany, so America is now falling upon German-Americans, or attacking them; but we have a weapon which we can use to good effect—namely, our ballots, and in these days, so dark for Germanism, we must use our ballots for our Germanism."

In his testimony before the Senate Committee on the Judiciary, in 1918, Gustavus Ohlinger, president of the Toledo Chamber of Commerce, stated that the activity of the Alliance was "in fact and purpose part of the military plan of Germany as directed against the United States."

"I say, advisedly, German military preparation against the United States began twenty years ago, and the same process was followed with the United States as was followed in so many other countries; that is the policy of infiltration, of propaganda for the purpose of destroying the national spirit of a country. That is the plan of the German general staff, and that is the thing, I believe, which this country will have to guard against more than anything else. You cannot have an army fighting valiantly for a country that has not a red hot, flaming national spirit. No

soldier is going to go into the trenches and sacrifice himself to all the miseries of warfare for a country that has not a red hot, flaming national spirit. You cannot expect it, and the object of the German general staff was to destroy the national spirit of America, so that the organization of any national spirit back of the army would be absolutely impossible, and they very nearly succeeded. A few years more and there would not have been enough national spirit in the United States to count for anything against the idea of 'Deutschland Uber Alles,' and that is the real meaning of this national German-American Alliance.

"Now, I do not mean to say that everyone in that organization knew what it was doing, and that it was a part of the plan of the German general staff; but that does not detract from the fact that it was operating in favor of the German general staff as a matter of the larger strategy. Münsterberg himself, in one of the places that is quoted in this bulletin, says:

"Your Plattsburg camps and your cantonments can not produce an army. An army must begin in the nursery and the school room.'

"This is supported in Bernhardt's famous book, 'Germany and the Next War.'

"The ways and means to spread the propaganda of the German-American Alliance, carry out its object and undermine the spirit of America, evidently attracted considerable study. President Hexamer himself gave the matter his attention, and the Bulletin finally acted.

"The evidence of that is the Official Bulletin for September, 1914, page 1. This is the heading: 'Dr. Hexamer's Appeal in the Interests of the Old Fatherland.' Subheading 'All Germans Should Stand Together and Oppose Unfriendly Attacks in a Vigorous Manner.'

"Dr. Hexamer, on the third of August issued the following appeal to the German press, and he says in this appeal this:

"In every city there should be a literary bureau established with a thoroughly competent press agent who could immediately make reply to the virulent attacks and statements due to the ignorance of the irresponsible reporters of the English language press. Furthermore, there should be established in every branch society funds for the benefit of the sufferers from the war in the old country.'

"Another appeal, which follows this one on the same page, says:

"To all German teachers, to all who have studied in German universities, and to every man or woman of German race with literary ability:

"The National Alliance is in need in many places of people who can undertake a vigorous literary polemic against the English newspapers. I therefore call upon all who are in a position in their home towns to read the English press and the English newspapers to send articles correcting the misstatements to the owners and editors thereof, and also, by means of original articles offered to the Anglo-American press, to work for the German cause. Those, however, who have difficulty in expressing their thoughts in good English should write down their thoughts in German and make use of a translator.'

"But the appeal as given above was not the first issued, although it is the most broad and certain in its meaning.

"On August 3, preceding the declaration of war between Germany and England, when the German ambassador in London

was 'still hopeful,' President Hexamer of the German-American Alliance called upon Germans in the United States to take up the task of fighting Anglo-Saxon influence."

Taking into consideration the secret and also the open pressure brought to bear upon the people and their representatives by this organization and others, and their effort to postpone America's entrance into the war, and to paralyze preparedness, their propaganda work can be seen to have had a military influence directly translatable into soldiers and weapons.

THE GERMAN LUTHERAN CHURCH.

One of the most delicate problems of the war has been the treatment due such clergymen as oppose the war policies of the Government from the shelter of the pulpit. The clergy as a whole have been intensely patriotic, but in every demonstration individuals have given out utterances of the most seditious character. It is not surprising that some of these should be of the German Lutheran faith.

Without underrating the loyalty of the vast majority of the members of this church, it is important to realize that a certain element of it has remained irreconcilable even to the liberal necessities of Americanization. A clergyman of this denomination has written for the Military Intelligence Branch a study of the attitude of the dangerous faction, and of the use made of even the most sacred ties by the German propagandists. This clergyman aroused vigorous hostility for his own pro-Americanism. His statement may be briefly summed up as follows:

"The end of the Thirty Years War witnessed the treaty of Westphalia, giving to the Calvinists the privileges denied them, but granted to the Lutherans by the treaty of Augsburg. The Calvinists peopled the Northern countries, Sweden, Denmark, etc. the Lutherans South Germany, the Catholics North Germany. In German Theological Institutions, Catholicism and Protestantism, which latter term means Lutheranism, are the only two religions mentioned or taught. German propaganda made and is making the best use of Luther's ideas of the relations of church and state, and church and people, a democratic constitution with autocratic application as e. g., the Lutheran pastor, though chosen by the congregation, becomes the Spiritual head by Divine intervention, removable for heresy alone, and then only by the highest church authorities.

"The Lutheran Church of the United States, save a few synods, has largely avoided contact with American religious life, and fosters a monarchical sympathy. The use of the German language has been favored, frequently insisted upon. Dr. Konuth

of the German council says: 'Take care of the German language—the English will take care of itself.'

"The Lutheran Church has generally endeavored to keep its congregations free from America's 'contaminating influence.' It has kept close touch with the church and other associations in Germany, and maintained an outspoken distrust of democratic movements.

"To protect the congregations from Americanization the parochial school system was kept up, with strong efforts to save the second and third generation for Germany. The public schools were feared and assailed in sermons, church papers and conferences. Pastors were given official recognition for successful parochial work and parents constantly impressed with the dangers of the 'heathenish' public schools.

"German Lutheran Colleges and Academies are urged upon its people. German history and literature are taught in all of these, and the superiority of everything 'deutsch' asserted.

"In the State of Missouri, with 1,100 Lutheran teachers and 2,300 pastors, and in Pennsylvania, the second and even third generation of German Lutherans cannot read or understand English. Efforts of young pastors to introduce English in their service and school work were frowned upon officially, even calling forth reprimands.

"The elderly German clergyman had a personal interest in this work since the process of Americanization through public schools brings nearer the day when his congregation will forget their German and tell him they cannot understand 'Luther's language.' Hence the old clergyman 'stalks through American life, essentially a German Monarchist, ignorant of this country's history and ideals; scowling at its national, political and religious life; too narrow, too conceited and prejudiced and too lazy to allow himself to doubt his right to his anti-American attitude—despising to become a citizen—the agent of the German language press—an ideal agent for German propaganda.'

"The present patriotic activity of Lutheran bodies in behalf of the Army and Navy, the Red Cross, etc., is not necessarily an indication of a change of the prevailing pro-German sentiment, but may be dictated by the interest of Lutheranism and fear of possible measures against their German language.

"A unique political meeting, since known as the 'Embargo Conference,' was held in Chicago in January, 1916. Members of different religious denominations were invited to attend this meeting, with the promise from its promoters that all railway fares and hotel bills would be provided for. A large number of Lutheran ministers attended, and Mr. Edward Goldbeck (Prussian officer and Chicago *Tribune* correspondent) presided, and instructed his hearers to vote against Wilson and to advise their parishioners to swell the anti-administration vote. The Lutheran church and its synods, because of their co-ordination and solidity, were regarded as a better channel for the distribution of German propaganda than the disconnected branches of the German-American Alliance."

Against this conference must be set the action of the Lutheran convention at Atlantic City, July 10, 1918, resulting in the consolidation of the United Lutheran Church of America, with 5,000 churches, 6 seminaries and 12 colleges. In West Hope, Ohio, July

10, 1918, a German Lutheran minister was chased from his home by his own congregation because of seditious language and insults to the flag.

In view of all the facts, the loyalty of the bulk of the German Lutheran membership is the more commendable. Extra credit is due also to an organization of loyal Germans aiming to export American ideals of liberty to Germany.

THE FRIENDS OF GERMAN DEMOCRACY.

Gradually great numbers of Germans began to understand how they had been misled by such organizations as the German-American Alliance and by many, though by no means all, of the German language newspapers. An effort has recently been made to redeem the German element from the suspicion of being largely hostile to the American ideal. In this work the Friends of German Democracy have accomplished excellent results. Their larger ambition is to spread republican propaganda in Germany, but incidentally they furnish a rallying center for people of German descent.

In a statement of June 14, 1918, this organization publishes an indictment against the disloyal or stiff-necked editors who used the privileges of a free press here for inculcating the doctrines of an empire where a free press can not exist:

"From the day when the American people joined the ranks of those nations who battle against a military autocracy, the demand to present a homogeneous, whole-hearted, unified America free from foreign inspirations became predominant. A thoroughly unified America became the issue, and only 100 per cent Americans had a place in it.

"All that the German language press could not or would not see. On the contrary, these newspapers still clung to opinions and ideas which have no place in that America that is giving its heart blood for a fighting democracy; ideas which they had been allowed to indulge in too long. And when these German-American papers really acted upon purely American impulses they did it with a certain mental reservation. They evidently lacked a clear insight to visualize that the proverbially indulgent American people, now at war, might change front over night, as soon as the grim aspect of the war made itself felt, as soon as the lists of dead and wounded and the disclosures of intrigue and propaganda would impress the public.

"That there are exceptions among these newspapers we readily grant. There are some who have learned that the issue of the hour is to have nothing in common with that political Germany as it is today which does not include the great mass of German people.

"There is only one way. It is perhaps not too late even now to prevent the catastrophe which threatens them. There is no soft middle ground, no standing apart any more. What is loyalty for the others must be loyalty for them, in future, but not one point less."

INFLUENCE OF PROPAGANDA IN THE UNITED STATES.

Mr. William Hogg, of Texas, vividly describes the influence of German propaganda before the war when he says:

"A million German soldiers in America would have done us less harm than the secret propagandists against preparedness. The presence of these soldiers would have roused the whole nation to arms, for an army in open attack stimulates. Propaganda stifles and discourages. The propagandist is more dangerous than the invader or the spy."

It has not seemed feasible to combat hostile propaganda under the laws against treason. And yet it is in a very real sense a levying of war in the United States. What else is it but a levying of war? Indeed it is the only form of war open to the partisans of Germany, since they have not been able to control the ocean and send their battleships and transports against our shores.

The only maritime warfare that Germany has been able to wage at sea has been by the submarine, and that she has carried on with the ruthless cowardice of assassination. Propaganda bears a striking resemblance to submarine attack and it has been carried on with a kindred shamelessness.

Since our entry into the war, America is too far away to be effectively reached by a rain of airship literature, but her propagandists reach the uttermost recesses of the country by one means or another, each of them with one military end in view, that of preventing or diminishing our effectiveness on the firing line.

The unscrupulous efficiency of German propaganda is seen in the willingness of that nation of autocracy to make use of any doctrine or any zealot likely to cause trouble for America or any of her Allies. In Germany, Belgian and French prisoners have been forced to slavery in the factories; German strikers have been put under military control, and threatened with death if they fail to return to their tasks, and even members of the Reichstag have been sentenced to prison for the slightest interest in the rights of laboring men. In Germany, the military power is supreme, and sanctified by all that religious pretence can hallow it with. But for other countries German doctrine advocated chaos.

We see German money and influence devoted to helping the causes of the most extreme radicals, the wildest anarchistic theories and the complete encouragement of the vicious, not merely to strike but to destroy factories, ruin machinery, kill workmen, and stop the flow of military supplies at any cost. We see the most warlike nation of modern times spending money and scattering literature to spread any form of pacifism, non-preparedness, religious or so-called conscientious objection that may hamper resistance.

A nation which carried preparedness to the extreme limit at home, used her ambassadors, consuls, attachés and agents of every sort to discredit and defeat the movement of preparedness in the United States. Documentary proofs abound of moneys spent in the effort to bribe, wheedle, or frighten members of Congress into opposing military appropriations, into causing a deadlock in the vote for war, and afterward into opposing every obstacle to the laws for universal service.

PROPAGANDA BY NEWSPAPERS.

The elaborate efforts to control the press of various nations by various methods have already been referred to. When the United States was neutral, the German language newspapers served as an army already entrenched. This did not prevent numberless attempts to control, to divert, to deceive, or to destroy papers published in English.

The story of the outright purchase of a New York daily paper after a prolonged study of the field, has just been published, though it was well known in many departments for a long time.

There is a humorous phase to the matter in that we see the solemn conclave making its choice of papers to buy and investing an immense sum in its acquisition, only to have the secret discovered at once by the majority of the public. As if this had not been embarrassment enough, America declared war on Germany and it was necessary for the paper to cease even the subtly poisonous tone of its first utterances and keep up in self-defense a violent anti-German uproar to distract attention from its past.

The ill-starred American-born agent who was left marooned with the paper on his hands—and the maintenance of a daily paper is sufficiently troublesome without further complications—kept up a lively fire against Germany with the German-owned machine gun, but he was finally taken away from it.

The story is a long one, but even so incomplete a sketch of German propaganda as this work could hardly omit a reference to the immortal comedy-tragedy of the New York *Evening Mail*. From the New York *Times* of July 9, 1918, the following excerpts are made:

"Edward A. Rumely, Vice President, secretary and publisher of The New York *Evening Mail*, was arrested late yesterday afternoon by agents of the Government, charged with perjury. The charge grew out of a statement filed with A. Mitchell Palmer, the Alien Property Custodian, in which Rumely asserted that the *Evening Mail* was an American-owned newspaper. The Government is in possession of evidence which, it is held, shows that instead of being owned by Americans, the paper is in fact owned by the Imperial German Government, which on July 1, 1915, paid to Rumely, through Walter Lyon, of the former Wall Street house of Renskorf, Lyon & Co., the sum of \$735,000, which transferred the control of the newspaper to the Kaiser.

"The Attorney General said that the investigation, which had culminated so sensationally just before dusk of yesterday, had been under way for several months, the Federal and State authorities working hand in hand and with the cooperation of A. Mitchell Palmer, the Alien Property Custodian.

"The charge upon which Mr. Rumely was committed to the Tombs, the papers in the case being signed by United States Commissioner Hitchcock, was sworn to by Deputy Attorney General Becker. No bail was fixed at the time of the commitment, but late last night it was announced that bail had been fixed in the sum of \$100,000 and that friends of the accused publisher were trying to get bondsmen.

"In many respects the financial features of the transactions which the Government charges transferred the control of the *Evening Mail* from American to German interests were similar to the plan followed by Bernstorff, Adolph Pavenstedt and Hugo Schmidt in transferring the huge sum which was paid to Bolo Pasha, the executed French traitor, to debauch French public opinion in favor of a German-made peace. In the case of Bolo, the funds, which totaled about \$1,700,000, passed through a number of banks before they reached Bolo.

"In this case, according to the Government agents, there were also several transfers, Dr. Heinrich Albert, the former German paymaster in this country, drawing the money out of banks in the form of cashiers' checks, which went to Walter Lyon, who, in turn, endorsed them to the firm of Renskorf, Lyon & Co. Renskorf, Lyon & Co., it is alleged, subsequently paid the purchase amount in a single check to Lyon, who then, it is charged, paid it to Rumely. For this transaction, according to the Government, Lyon received a commission of \$5,000.

"The banks which figured in the original transactions which involved the first payment of the purchase price of \$735,000 were the Equitable Trust Company, the Manhattan Company, the Columbia Trust Company, and the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company.

"But the \$750,000 payment was only about one-half of the financial outlay expended by the Germans in their efforts to have their own public opinion-making New York daily. After the *Evening Mail* had passed into Rumely's control, the Attorney

General said last night, it soon began to lose money. With its change from pro-Ally to pro-German sentiment its subscription lists began to dwindle and its income from other sources began to decline. The result was that, beginning in January, 1916, and up to the time that Bernstorff was dismissed from the United States the *Evening Mail*, according to the Government agents, cost the Kaiser an additional \$626,000, or a total including the purchase price, of \$1,361,000.

"In announcing the arrest of Mr. Rumely, and, subsequently, in making public some of the details of the international transaction, Attorney General Lewis, referring to the total sum of \$1,361,000, added the comment that 'this amount represents the total moneys paid so far as has been traced by the Federal and State officials up to the present time.'

" 'The documents in the case,' added the Attorney General, 'indicate that Rumely purchased the stock of the Mail and Express Company from Henry L. Stoddard in June, 1915, the money paid to Rumely being drawn from deposits of the German Government at various banks in the City of New York, these accounts standing in the name of Bernstorff, the former Ambassador of Germany at Washington, and of Dr. Heinrich Albert, who was know, I believe, as the Commercial Attaché of the Embassy. The money was drawn from the joint accounts of Bernstorff and Albert.

" 'The transfers of the money were concealed in the following manner: Dr. Albert procured various banks, where the German Government had accounts in his own and Bernstorff's name, to issue cashier's checks to the order of one Walter Lyon, a member of the former Wall Street firm of Renskorff, Lyon & Co. This firm in turn paid the money back to Lyon, who then transferred it to Rumely. We have the checks which figured in these various transfers. Subsequently and after the *Mail* began to decline as a money maker the Germans had to come to its rescue and paid out more than \$600,000, the money being paid to Rumely himself or to the S. S. McClure Newspaper Corporation, which he, Rumely, had organized for the purpose of the transactions referred to.

" 'In some of the financial transactions which crop up all through this case Dr. Albert drew the money in cash and delivered it to the law firm of Hays, Kaufmann & Lindheim, then the attorneys of the German Embassy in this country, who took the cash to Renskorff, Lyon & Co., who in turn paid it over to Rumely.

" 'In one transaction, which had come to our knowledge, \$75,000 in bills was handled in the manner indicated. After receiving the money Rumely would draw his notes, making them payable to Lyon, these notes covering the transfers in money and pledged stock in the S. S. McClure Newspaper Corporation to secure the loans.

" 'Now as to the Alien Property Custodian, Dr. Rumely in his report to the Alien Property Custodian made no disclosures of his relation with Albert or Bernstorff, or with the Imperial German Government. Instead he reported to Mr. Palmer, the Custodian, that he owed \$100,000 on a note to Hermann Sielcken, an American citizen, then resident in Germany, who subsequently died in that country, and he further reported to Mr. Palmer that the notes which he had given to Renskorff, Lyon & Co., accompanied by pledges of stock in the S. S. McClure Newspaper Corporation, had been surrendered to him in exchange for the \$100,000 note in September, 1917. In other words, Dr. Rumely stated that by

giving his note for \$100,000 he had obtained a return of notes aggregating in excess of \$1,300,000 and stock representing a controlling interest in the *Evening Mail*.

"Rumely has claimed recently that it was the late Mr. Sielcken who put up the money in the transaction. Previously he stated that Mrs. Adolphus Busch of St. Louis had contributed to the fund. On her arrival in this country a few weeks ago Mrs. Busch stated that she had not contributed any of the money, and, furthermore, added that she had never heard of Rumely up to that time. I may also state that the Columbia Trust Company, the executor of Mr. Sielcken, as well as Mr. Sielcken's former partners in the firm of Crossman & Sielcken, the coffee importing house, have informed us that, so far as they know, Mr. Sielcken was never concerned in these transactions.'

"Attorney General Lewis in answer to a question as to whether the \$1,361,000 which is involved in the transactions was cabled to this country for the purpose for which it was used, replied that it was all money obtained in this country through the sale of Imperial German Government war bonds. The bonds were sold to American citizens, in the great majority of instances citizens of German birth and extraction. One of the men who is said to have had a part in the sale of the bonds was Rudolph Hecht, the German banker and friend of the Kaiser, who is now interned as a dangerous enemy alien at Fort Oglethorpe, Ga.

"'In other words,' added the Attorney General, 'persons who are citizens of the United States provided the money, through the purchase of these bonds, which made possible the acquirement of the *Mail* for propaganda purposes by the Germans. Some of this money, I may add, found its way through G. Amsinck & Co., the firm which figured in the huge payments which were made to Bolo Pasha by Bernstorff, of which firm Adolph Pavenstedt, now interned, was then the head. This firm has since been reorganized.'

"Assistant United States District Attorney Harper, who has assisted in the investigation as the representative of Attorney General Gregory, answered the next question, which was:

"'What was the editorial policy of the *Mail* which the Germans mapped out after securing control?'

"'The investigation indicates,' replied Mr. Harper, 'that they favored not so much a pro-German as an anti-British policy. I think the files of the paper subsequent to the passing of ownership will indicate this to be the case. This policy covered the period between June, 1915, and February 3, 1917. After that we got into the war and its tone changed.'

"'What does Rumely have to say about all this?'

"'He still says that the money came to him from Sielcken.'

"Mr. Becker resumed the narrative at this point. He explained certain of the financial features of the case.

"'The total amount advanced for the first or purchasing payment,' he said, 'was \$740,000. This amount covered the shares and took care of the bonds of the Mail Company. By January of 1916 its working capital had been depleted, and it was up to Albert to come across and he did so. Between January 14, 1916, and February, 1917, more than \$600,000 was paid to Rumely. The money was paid in various amounts, and as a rule in monthly payments. All of these payments were covered by notes, and on September 2, 1917, the notes given by Rumely aggregated \$1,361,000 secured by a pledge of the stocks, the notes being pay-

able to Renskorf, Lyon & Co. and held by the law firm of Hays, Kaufmann & Lindheim.

"Rumely by this time had given up the notes and the stock. That is they went out of his possession, and on September 27, 1917, he delivered his own note for \$100,000 to the order of Hermann Sielcken and turned it over to Hays, Kaufmann & Lindheim and got back all the stock in exchange for it. Rumely now has the stock and Hays, Kaufmann & Lindheim the note. It may be of interest to note that the face value of this stock is not more than \$600,000.

"Mr. Palmer, the Alien Property Custodian, called for a report from Rumely in October of last year, and on December 4 Rumely filed his report, and in that report he stated, as I have already indicated, that on February 3, 1917, he purchased the stock for \$100,000, the money being advanced by Sielcken."

"Does the German Government or the Kaiser as its head own the *Mail* at this moment?" Mr. Becker was asked.

"To the best of our knowledge and belief that is the situation," was the reply.

"What about Henry L. Stoddard, the former owner of the *Mail* and now the President of the publishing company, did he know the real ownership of the paper?"

"We have every reason to believe that Mr. Stoddard was kept in ignorance of the real ownership. Mr. Stoddard owns the bonds of the company which are coming due in October, and we are informed that he threatened to foreclose those bonds if the paper was run in any way disloyal to the United States."

"How many payments did Albert and other representatives of the Kaiser make?" Mr. Becker was asked.

"I should say about fifty."

"Mr. Becker then exhibited the original letter from Dr. Albert to the Equitable Trust Company asking for the issuance of a \$350,000 cashier's check. This letter reads:

"45 Broadway, New York, May 27, 1915.

"Equitable Trust Company, New York City.

"DEAR SIR: Please issue your cashier's check for \$350,000 in favor of Mr. Walter Lyon and charge the amount to the account of J. Bernstorff and myself.

"H. ALBERT."

"The Equitable Trust Company replied by issuing the check for the amount asked on the Hanover National Bank, the date of the check being May 27, 1915. The check was endorsed by Lyon to the order of Renskorf, Lyon & Co.

"On the same date, according to Mr. Becker, Dr. Albert wrote a letter to the Columbia Trust Company, in which he asked for a cashier's check for \$200,000. The letter of application was worded the same as the one to the Equitable Trust Company. Also on May 27 two checks, one for \$185,000 and the other for \$5,000, were drawn on the Farmers' Loan and Trust Company, completing the purchase price of \$735,000, and also providing for the payment of the \$5,000 commission. These checks were signed by G. Amsinck & Co. Amsinck & Co. have informed Attorney General Lewis that the letter of Albert's applying for these checks was returned to Dr. Albert. On June 1 the full amount of the purchase money was paid over to Rumely by Lyon."

The exposure of this transaction was made just as this book was going to press, and it is impossible either to do it justice or to

chronicle the further developments. An editorial in the *New York Tribune* of July 12, 1918, is worth quoting as a warning against taking too light a view of the case:

"THE INVISIBLE ENEMY.

"There is a predisposition to be diverted by the thought that Germany was swindled in her efforts to buy public opinion in this country. She bought the *Evening Mail* and goodness knows what else, and spent millions for propaganda, and what good did it do her? Did it keep us from going to war with autocracy?

"That is what many people are saying. It is the moral that some are accepting, even the *New York World*, which foretells that in the next edition of a well known book on popular delusions there will be a chapter on the gullibility of the German propagandist who thought by the liberal use of money to persuade the American people against their own interests.

"Which all goes to show how little people know about propaganda, especially German propaganda, and how like a virgin field to the first wheat sowers this country full of innocent newspapers must have seemed to the Kaiser's agents—Dernburg, von Bernstorff, Albert and other Huns.

"The public mind to the trained propagandist is a pool into which phrases and thoughts are dropped like acids, with a foreknowledge of the reactions that will take place, just as Professor Loeb at the Rockefeller Institute can make a thousand crustaceans stop swimming aimlessly about in the bowl and rush with one headlong impulse to the side where the light comes from, merely by introducing into the water a little drop of chemical.

"We do not know how successful German propaganda has been in this country. We shall never know. But it is notorious that the German government's agents have shrewdly exploited internal distractions and disaffections. They have fanned the Irish question. They probably helped to finance the Sinn Féin row, which, by the way, stopped very abruptly when criminal prosecutions started. They have sought to inflame the negro in his grievance. They have helped revive the ancient feud between the A. P. A. and the Catholic Church. They have procured to be printed in American papers editorials that could be quoted in Mexico to prove the Americans perfidious in their intentions toward that country. They have widely and very adroitly suggested Japan to the American imagination in an extremely sinister light. They have sown dark thoughts against our allies, especially Great Britain and Italy. They have assisted to spread the capitalistic idea of war among the radicals. They have most efficiently sustained a large body of pacifist opinion in the country, disguised latterly as opinion for a diplomatic peace.

"This is not to say that the German propagandist ever positively originated anything. He is not so stupid. His business is to work with the elements, materials and conditions already existing and to shape and develop them scientifically. He did not invent the negro problem. He has only exploited it. So with everything.

"And if by all these means together the sum of this country's war activities could be, or has been, retarded as much as one week, that achievement alone might have seemed to the German government worth any amount of money. Who will say that our war programme is not three months behind what it might be? Who

will say how much of the delay has been owing, directly or indirectly, to the work of German agents in this country?

"But that is only the obvious aspect. The most difficult part of the war is yet to come—at the very end, when peace terms are on the table. What would an organized power of suggestion in this country be worth to the German government at that time?"

PROPAGANDA BY BOOKS.

Books have been among the chief instruments of propaganda. In France the highly praised literary masterpiece translated into English as "Under Fire," by Henri Barbusse, proved to be useful for discrediting the French soldier because of its accounts of brutality and indifference in individual cases and mercilessly realistic descriptions of the hardships of trench life.

This book was taken up eagerly by German propagandists, and it appeared on the lists of all the dealers in pro-German literature.

German book dealers having been permitted to continue their activities, some of them have transacted business by wireless with book publishers in Germany, and smuggled their works into this country, or reprinted them on American presses for distribution throughout the United States and through South America.

An example is the case of Ritter & Company, of Boston, importers of German books, and publishers of an alleged "History of the European War," written by an American, but actually a distorted falsification of every historical motive or event. The Post Office Department seized some of the publications of this house on their way to South American countries; later, the evidence being more than sufficient, the warerooms were raided, and the head of the firm arrested; being of German birth and citizenship, and also a reservist, he can be reached by the law.

One section of shelves was frankly marked "Propaganda."

The American author's "History" is an openly vicious assault on American honor and it has no end except to justify the worst deeds of Germany and slander the noblest deeds of the Allies. The only mention it makes of atrocities in Belgium, for instance, is that Belgian women gouged out the eyes of wounded German soldiers. The sinking of the *Lusitania* is dismissed as having caused "some excitement" owing to a "carefully worked-up feeling." A reader of this history who had no other information could only marvel at the brutality, cruelty and rapacity of Great Britain,

France, Italy and the peculiarly vicious United States in attacking the innocent and peace-abiding Germans.

The author for years conducted a department of military review in a daily paper. His tone was so blatantly offensive as to arouse protest. Later he modified his insults slightly but continued to be more insidious than ever in his comments. While protesting his loyalty when sober, in his drunken moods he toasted the Kaiser and denounced the President.

He is typical of the newspaper and book propagandist. Many of the pro-German publishers disguise their attacks by carefully veiled expressions, and by inculcating doubt and distrust.

Another favorite method is to surround their outrageous anti-Americanism with violent headlines of patriotic or anti-German tenor.

Various sections of the country have so large an element of foreign and hostile population that their newspapers have dared almost every insolence; encouraged the resistance to the draft, ridiculed the Liberty Loan and War Savings Stamp campaigns, disseminated every possible scandal or slandered every public official.

Newspapers in almost every language are published in this country. Many of them have shown unquestionable loyalty to the cause of their adopted nation; but numberless others have been subsidized to fight for Germany in every way, to stir up discontent among the soldiers and their parents and to propagate mutiny.

Some of the newspapers in the foreign languages for a long while fought the cause of their Fatherland openly. Gradually they were coerced into disguising at least their contempt for the country of their residence and prosperity. Eventually it was found necessary to compel them to file an English translation of every article. Many of them were denied the mails.

But these hindrances simply awoke the ingenuity of the propagandists, and it is only recently that the rising wave of public indignation has forced many of them into discontinuing publication altogether, or into adopting the English language.

The silly fanatic who hisses the flag, shouts for the Kaiser, or awkwardly flaunts his pro-Germanism and is lynched, or painted yellow, or made to kiss the flag, is not the dangerous man, for he is plainly lacking in intelligence and even in discretion.

The spy or propagandist will not so advertise himself, but will rather make an open show of Americanism, fly the flag, buy bonds

with ostentation and probably denounce the Kaiser. He can afford a small investment in an excellent security, and he is not eager to court the wrath of the patriots about him, for he thus destroys his own usefulness.

He will rather work by means of the various tools at hand, and endeavor to drop the poison of doubt or fear into the cup of public enthusiasm.

PROPAGANDA BY FILM AND DRAMA.

The motion picture offers him a most inviting medium for propaganda. It appeals to a vast public, even to those who can not read. In the course of a dramatic or melodramatic story, he can carry across to the audience the most dangerous messages. Anything that presents our cause or that of our Allies in a bad light, exerts just so much power in the Kaiser's favor.

An instance of the methods employed in film propaganda is the case of Robert Goldstein and "The Spirit of '76." This was a Revolutionary story and so innocent as he presented it to the Board of Censors that they passed it without suspicion.

Once they had approved it, he caused to be inserted about 1,500 feet of matter carefully prepared. This represented scenes in the old prison ships and showed British keepers treating American prisoners with fearful brutality. A British soldier was represented as impaling a baby on a bayonet and whirling it around his head; other as shooting women, dragging American girls away by the hair.

The one result of such scenes would be to awaken ancient hostilities against our Ally. The picture was quickly and properly suppressed. Investigation of the producer revealed his German motive and support. The name of Franz Bopp, the German consul involved also in the Hindu conspiracy, appeared also here as one who had offered to give financial backing to the picture.

The manufacturers of the film asked that it be returned to them, after its seizure under search warrant under title XI of the Espionage Act, but Judge Bledsoe, of the United States District Court, Southern Division of California, Southern Division, refused the motion. His ruling is so eloquent a statement of both the wrong and the right spirit in such a situation that it is quoted entire:

"The facts developed in this proceeding show that this photoplay, 'The Spirit of '76,' attempts to portray some of the more

important phases of the American War for Independence, and special scenes, like Paul Revere's Ride, the signing of the Declaration of Independence, and the like, are given particular mention and prominence. In addition—and these are the parts of the film inveighed against—scenes purporting to illustrate the Wyoming Valley Massacre are shown. A British soldier is pictured impaling on a bayonet a baby lying in its cradle and then whirling it around his head so impaled. Other unspeakable atrocities committed by British soldiers, including the shooting of harmless women, the dragging off, sometimes by the hair of the head, of young American girls, and so forth, are exhibited.

"Because of adverse criticism and objection, before the scheduled initial performance a private exhibition of the picture was had, attended by divers local and governmental representatives. At this performance none of the objectionable features above mentioned were shown, and in consequence no open objection to the proposed run of the play was voiced. Immediately following this preliminary presentation, though, the director, Goldstein, inserted into the film in appropriate places the scenes of the Wyoming Massacre just referred to and proceeded to show them at the ensuing evening performance. This he did, he says, 'to excite the audience' and attract greater attention to his production.

"The film is owned by a corporation, but seems to be and to have been managed by Goldstein, the man who wrote the scenario and who has 'produced' the picture. As is usual in such cases, a good many thousands of dollars, probably in excess of a hundred thousand dollars, have been expended in the work of such production.

"I have listened very carefully to the statement of Mr. Scott, counsel for the stockholders in the film company, and I sympathize with them for having made an investment in this film with no knowledge of its true character. The various stockholders, of course, I do not know, and, in consequence, can not know their attitude toward the presentation of this film. I have given careful consideration to the suggestion made by counsel with respect to the possibility and even probability of financial losses inuring to the stockholders, and perhaps of some considerable consequence. Bearing all this in mind, however, and assuming that you and your associates are going to suffer some considerable loss, this court at this time is in no mood to weigh the financial losses of a few individuals as against possible detriment to the United States of America. If it be that some will have to suffer loss, yet it is only a financial loss, and, at worst, will be only a fractional part of the loss that others are going to have to suffer—some even of their lives—because of the war in which we are now engaged.

"History is history, and fact is fact. There is no doubt about that. At the present time, however, the United States is confronted with what I conceive to be the greatest emergency we have ever been confronted with at any time in our history. There is now required of us the greatest amount of devotion to a common cause, the greatest amount of co-operation, the greatest amount of efficiency, and the greatest amount of disposition to further the ultimate success of American arms that can be conceived, and as a necessary consequence no man should be permitted, by deliberate act, or even unthinkingly, to do that which will in any way detract from the efforts which the United States is putting forth or serve to postpone for a single moment the

early coming of the day when the success of our arms shall be a fact and the righteousness of our cause shall have been demonstrated.

"We are engaged in a war in which Great Britain is an ally of the United States. It is a fact that we were at war with Great Britain during the Revolutionary times, and whatever occurred there is written upon the page of history and will have to stand, whomsoever may be injured or hurt by the recital or recollection of it. But this is no time, in my judgment (this is the thought that controls me in this matter), whatever may be the excuse, whether it be a financial return or otherwise, for the exploitation of those things that may have the tendency or effect of sowing dissension among our people and of creating animosity or want of confidence between us and our allies, because so to do weakens our efforts, weakens the chance of our success, impairs our solidarity and renders less useful the lives we are giving to the end that this war may soon be over and peace may soon become a thing substantial and permanent with us. I am in no mood, either, particularly after having listened to the testimony of this man Goldstein, to consider the suggestion that the film be returned and so much of it be permitted to be exhibited as has not met with special objection.

"It is a fair inference from the circumstances, considering the hearing had in Chicago, the objections then made, the language used in characterizing its scenes of atrocity as being 'reprehensible' and as evidencing 'malice,' that the disposition and purpose of the whole play in its deeper significance is to incite hatred of England and England's soldiers. And it is not at all necessary that it should be shown to have such effect; it is enough if it is calculated reasonably so to excite or inflame the passions of our people or some of them as that they will be deterred from giving that full measure of co-operation, sympathy, assistance and sacrifice which is due to Great Britain simply because of the fact that Great Britain, as an ally of ours, is working with us to fight the battle which we think strikes at our very existence as a nation.

"Ordinarily the exploitation of such harmless, in one sense, highly inspiring in another sense, scenes as Paul Revere's Ride, which is one of the most beautiful things in history, could not be detrimental or distasteful to anybody. Ordinarily it could be put on in such a way as to be a source of unending delight and gratification to any man, be he American or be he English—but that is not the point. There are interspersed in this play those things which tend to appeal to the passions of our nature, which tend to arouse our revenge and to question the good faith of our ally Great Britain and to make us a little bit slack in our loyalty to Great Britain in this great catastrophe or emergency. Therefore, as I say, this is no time or place for the exploitation of that which, at another time or place, or under different circumstances, might be harmless and innocuous in its every aspect. It is like the 'right of free speech' upon which such great stress is now being laid. That which in ordinary times might be clearly permissible, or even commendable, in this hour of national emergency, effort and peril may be as clearly treasonable and therefore properly subject to review and repression. The constitutional guaranty of 'free speech' carries with it no right to subvert the purposes and destiny of the nation.

"In addition, this man, by his own admission, knew that these

things—the bayoneting of the babe and the like—had been severely criticised and were inhibited. He knew that objection had been made to them. He knew just as well as he knows we are sitting here now that the private presentation of this film on last Tuesday morning was for the purpose of seeing if there was anything objectionable in it. To fit it for such private presentation it was gone over by him with a fine-tooth comb, no doubt; but immediately thereafter a sedulous effort was indulged in by him to insert those things which would tend to ‘excite’ and to create a prejudice against Great Britain. This demands an inquiry into the ultimate motives and purposes of this man, and no doubt justifies other and different action against him. But in any event, referring to the special problem now before us and considering only the harm now to come to us, I feel that I can do no less than to say that so far as it is within the power of this court, this thing has got to stop.

“I have no disposition, of course, to confiscate anyone’s property. There may come a time and place where this play, devoid of some of its horror, which never ought to be in it at any time, and devoid of its immorality, which is and ought to be shocking to any man who possesses a respectable quantum of decency in his make-up—devoid of those things, the time may come when it could be put on, and put on entertainingly and refreshingly before an audience of American people. The fact is, however, that the film is of such a character that it can be used to our national disadvantage in time of national emergency, and this can not be allowed. If the result be to bring a loss upon those who are financially interested, so be it. It is merely a loss they must sustain because of the unwisdom they have demonstrated in trusting their financial affairs to one who possesses such a slight modicum of appreciation of the eternal fitness of things as does this man who is presenting and claiming the right to present this picture at this time.

“The motion for the return of the film will be denied without prejudice. It will be held in the possession of the marshal until such time as, under changed conditions, it may properly be presented, and the district attorney is directed to prepare for the court a warrant for the seizure of the original, which is within the jurisdiction of this court, as shown by the testimony given here, and that will be put in the same place and kept under the same surveillance.”

In a play recently produced, a Belgian girl having taken refuge in England, was outraged by an English officer, who married her eventually in order to legitimize her child. The purpose of such a drama could only be to counteract the horror of the world against the atrocities in Belgium. The coincidence was not strange that the playwright had changed his name from one of German origin to one of English sound.

Public sentiment has grown so ardent that such efforts to influence it are likely to meet with short life and vigorous rebuke. A safer course is to encourage and finance those factions of the native population that are always against the Government, or have

some personal grievance or crusade, so important in their eyes **that** the winning of the war is of minor importance, or war itself indefensible on any grounds.

CHAPTER V.

COOPERATING AGENCIES.

It would be hysterical and ridiculous to blame or credit Germany or German inspiration with all of the difficulties put in the way of a successful prosecution of the war. Some of the most dangerous elements have no love of Germany, and even include her among their detestations. But whoever, for whatever motives, frustrates or diminishes the maximum efficiency of the machinery for executing the will of the nation in this war, has the hearty support of the enemy agencies. Sooner or later, almost without fail the investigation discloses among the moving spirits a person of hostile proclivities.

But the nativity of the agent is not the important thing. The enemy of the country is he who does his bit against our victory.

RELIGIOUS PROPAGANDA.

The vast majority of religious people in America are revolted by the disasters Imperial Germany has brought upon civilization in her blood-thirst, ruthlessness and land-lust, and not least of all in her protestations of divine sanction and holy purpose while destroying cathedrals, convents and holy places.

But nearly all of the creeds have had adherents who adhere also to Germany and who have carried their opposition to our success under the cloak of religion.

The pastors of some churches have retained their Prussianism and rivalled the amazing pulpit utterances of the German preachers who have proclaimed that the Kaiser is a Messiah and the German people divinely selected instruments to spread God's own Kultur among the vile heathen. In America some of the alien clergymen have thought it better policy to preach the beauties of peace and non-resistance. We thus see the clerical propagandists blowing both hot and cold. Fire and sword are sanctified to the Kaiser, but they are diabolic in America.

With these partisans a large number of American clergymen have collaborated more or less unconsciously. A Prussian clergyman said that the lives of all the Belgians and French were not important compared to the life and safety of one German soldier. The Rev. John Haynes Holmes, of New York, stated in a sermon reprinted in "The Finished Mystery:" "The war itself is wrong. Its

prosecution will be a crime. There is not a question raised, an issue involved, a cause at stake, which is worth the life of one blue-jacket on the sea, or one khaki coat in the trenches."

An American clergyman in Berkeley, Cal., actually stated that he had a vision in which the German Crown Prince appeared to him, mounted on a white horse and wearing a helmet, and carrying a sword. This meant that the Germans would win the war; also that an angel would pass through and destroy those persons having flags or Red Cross cards in their windows.

It is not surprising, however regrettable, that in this same city a church was burned to the ground because the pastor and the elders refused to permit the singing of the National Anthem.

Two other typical instances of pulpit propaganda by American clergymen may be cited from the multitude of reports:

The pastor of a church at Mount View, Mo., is reported by a fellow minister as having said in a sermon that "the Red Cross was a fake, that men were getting rich out of it;" and then, as if to lend a semblance of truth to this view, added "that there was a lady who had knitted a sweater for her son and sewed up a \$20 bill in the side pocket, and a few days afterwards she saw an acquaintance wearing the sweater, and asking permission to examine the sweater, found the money in it."

He also said in his sermon "It was an outrage to send our boys across the water to be butchered."

A clergyman of Lexington, Ky., during a sermon delivered on the 9th of June, 1918, remarked that the ruler of this nation was hellish and that war was the result of the hellish machinery that was being put into operation; all the army boys that got killed would go to hell. He also advised his hearers not to obey the draft act, for war was literal hell and that Wilson was as rotten as the Kaiser is represented to be. He also maintained that he would preach this doctrine even if arrested and sentenced to prison for twenty-one years, and the only grace that he would ask of his prosecutors would be an extension of the sentence to ninety-nine years.

The sermons of the Rev. John Haynes Holmes have been eloquent appeals for peace and strong denunciations of bloodshed and war. They are so eloquent that, as has already been stated, the Germans have paid them the ironic compliment of tying them to toy balloons and floating them across the British and French lines.

It is perhaps only a coincidence, yet a striking one, that the point chosen by the Germans for bombardment by the Holmes

sermons was the British Fifth Army. The sermons were scattered March 9; on March 21 the first great offensive started, and the Fifth Army gave way with disastrous result to the whole line. Various explanations have been offered for the collapse, ranging from the thinness of the line to the flaccidity of its morale. In any case the sermons denouncing all resistance as vicious must have had an influence that cost the Allies dearly in lives, territory and prestige.

A more striking proof of the actual influence of such preachments could not be imagined. They have no effect whatever on the enemy that started the war and wages it ruthlessly. He sends them across to our soldiers in the hope that they may convert a few American or British soldiers into abetting the further conquests of Germany.

CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS AND "DIVINITY STUDENTS."

"Religious opposition to war represents one of the most perplexing and delicate phases of the whole situation," according to an eminent jurist. "The Selective Service Act takes the individual conscience into account. The thing that is unjustifiable during the war is the organized and deliberate creation of conscientious objection that did not genuinely exist before."

This and other Governments have long respected the tenets of the Friends or Quakers, but there can be little patience with their hasty and fraudulent imitators. The book relating the experiences of the Quakers who persuaded President Lincoln to exempt this society from the draft, has, of course, been reprinted as a form of propaganda for distribution among the soldiers.

From Oberlin, Ohio, a number of publications have viciously attacked the right of the nation to compel its citizens to pay military taxes as well as income, revenue, school and other taxes.

Mrs. Catherine Tingley, head of the Theosophical Institute at Point Loma, Cal., was interested in military matters until our entry into the war and the passage of the conscription act. Then she visited Washington and endeavored to get her adherents exempted as "divinity students!"

Many such efforts to scurry to cover have been made by various sects formed or adapted for the purpose, and so-called "conscientious objectors" have sprung up on all sides to dignify their cowardice or their anti-Americanism by the white-feather name of conscience.

To yield to these alleged religious objectors would be a *reductio ad absurdum*. This country reluctantly passed the conscription act because it felt compelled to by the unfortunate experiences of England, and by the magnitude of the crisis. Conscription is generally recognized as the fairest method of managing the resources of the country.

Now that the conscription act is law, it must be enforced; for it is manifest that should everybody be allowed to gain exemption on the claim of conscientious objection, only those would be drafted whose consciences forbade them to desert their country in her time of trial. The draft law might as well not have been passed, therefore, since it would bring into the service only those who would have volunteered anyway.

It was to avoid the evils, dangers and delays of the volunteer system that the conscription law was passed. It must be rigorously applied and those whose motto is "Conscience Above Country" must be taught that governments can not be run by the consciences of individuals, but by the conscience of majorities and their representatives.

"THE FINISHED MYSTERY."

Under this strange banner a group of strange persons have waged a peculiarly vicious war by propaganda, and compelled the Government to prosecute an organization wearing the innocent name of the International Bible Students Association.

The late "Pastor" Russell had, before his death, secured an enormous following for the doctrines contained in his sermons, which were at one time published in as many as four thousand newspapers simultaneously; and in his books, of which it is said eleven million copies were sold. His books were called "Keys to the Divine Plan of the Ages." He wrote six volumes, the seventh and final remaining unwritten at his death. He left the sect of Russellites in a very flourishing condition and possessed of large assets, not the least of which was a great market for another volume of the Studies of Scripture. A Brooklyn attorney, J. F. Rutherford, succeeded to the control and with his associates put forth the seventh volume of the series, under the name of "The Finished Mystery," pretending that it was inspired, if not written, by Pastor Russell. In this book, under the guise of religion, they inserted a vast amount of rabid pacifism and made vicious attacks on the present war.

Rutherford and the others were not content with selling the volume to the Russellites, but began to push its circulation everywhere, especially among groups of soldiers. So eager were they for the spread of its doctrine that when the book was declared to be in violation of the Espionage Law they continued its distribution.

The most surreptitious methods were adopted to circulate this forbidden writ; slipping it into the mail boxes at night, sending it in carload shipments by freight to a given point with covert instructions to agents to remail it—matter already declared in violation of the Espionage Law; publishing under different titles and in capsule form the most offensively disloyal poisons of propaganda already ordered suppressed by the Department of Justice; instructing its Bureaus to make use of this same seditious stuff in all their lectures, because they would be immune as members of a religious cult, and escape the punishment surely closing in on them.

This sedition is contemptible enough, but its magnitude and the false cant with which it appeals to devout dupes, gain a military importance for two reasons: First, that many disciples claim exemption on the ground of their religious profession, second, that the book has been foisted with the most determined persistence and cunning upon men already in uniform, to whom it could only be meant to appeal as an argument for mutiny and desertion.

"The Finished Mystery" is warmly defended by *The Kingdom News*, a periodical issued by the same people with the same motives.

Whatever one may think of these doctrines as doctrines, it is manifest that their spread at this time has only one influence—to destroy military efficiency. Russell's successor, Rutherford, who has added to his activity as a publisher the busy life of a lecturer under the name of "Judge Rutherford of the New York Bar," was finally brought to the bar.

His propaganda had been strongly supported by the Germans, and is involved in the disturbance of Italy, where the so-called Onofrio letter was widely distributed.

The following account (from the *New York Times*, May 9, 1918) of Rutherford and five associates gives details of their activities:

"Charged with spreading doctrines calculated to promote unrest and disloyalty among the men of the army and navy, six leaders of the International Bible Students Association, which was founded by the late 'Pastor' Charles T. Russell, were arrested

yesterday afternoon in Brooklyn by United States Marshal James M. Power.

"The arrests were made at the 'Bethel,' the headquarters of the society, at 122 Columbia Heights, and among the men taken into custody was ex-Judge Joseph F. Rutherford, who is said to be the successor of 'Pastor' Russell as the head of the organization. The sextette were saved from going to the city prison for the night through a swift real estate transaction, by which one of the members of the association became temporary title holder to property of the society, enabling him to give bonds for the prisoners.

"The Federal Grand Jury indictment, under which Rutherford and his associates were arrested, charges them with 'unlawfully and wilfully conspiring to cause insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty of the military and naval forces of the United States.' When arraigned before Judge Garvin in the United States District Court the accused all pleaded not guilty. Besides Rutherford, they were William E. Van Amburgh, A. Hugh McMillan, Robert J. Martin, Frederick H. Robinson and Giovanni De Cecca. The first four named were held in \$5,000 bail each, and the other two in \$2,000 each.

"There are four counts in the indictment, all charging disloyalty. Rutherford, McMillan, Van Amburgh and Martin are also charged with having sent money to a representative of the association in Germany. These funds, \$500, deposited in the name of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society in the Nassau National Bank, Manhattan, are said to have been withdrawn on November 7 last and sent by draft to Barmen, Germany, through Zurich, Switzerland.

"The indictment was based largely upon matter published in the *Watch Tower* and *Kingdom News*, publications issued by the society, and 'The Finished Mystery,' a work by the late 'Pastor' Russell. The magazines contain letters written from Italy and having to do with the trial in that country of a member of the International Bible Students Association for making defamatory remarks about military service.

"Through their activities in lending encouragement to pacifists and conscientious objectors, members of the Russell organization have gotten into trouble in several cities in this country and in Toronto, Canada. Some time ago representatives of the United States Government visited the headquarters in Brooklyn and took away copies of the various publications of the society. On Sunday, April 29, while the Russellites were holding services in their tabernacle, in Hicks street, Brooklyn, a speaker for the Liberty Loan who entered was refused permission to address the assemblage. Later members of the police reserve visited the temple on the same mission and received a like reception. As the Russellites filed out of the tabernacle the loan boosters pleaded with them to purchase bonds, but to no purpose. Some days later it was announced that eighteen members at the Bethel had subscribed for bonds. Mr. Rutherford, the head of the Society, has repeatedly denied that the association had ever attempted to spread German propaganda. Leaves from the May number of the *Kingdom News*, which have been distributed by hand in Brooklyn in the last few days, contain a severe denunciation of the 'autocratic Kaiser' and his 'blood-thirsty hordes.'

"It was said by former members of the Bible Association, the Watch Tower and Tract Society and other organizations founded

by the late 'Pastor' Russell that many members had withdrawn their membership after the death of the first leader, because they disapproved the methods and the management of some of the new officers. An antagonism toward the new leader began immediately after his selection, and it was said that much of the dissatisfaction was caused by the methods of the election and of a campaign preceding the choice of a 'pastor.' It was said that in the last few years, and particularly since the death of 'Pastor' Russell, the aims and ideals of the associations had been changed so completely that many persons who supported the tenets of the first leader found themselves completely out of sympathy with the movement. This split in opinion, it was said, also caused a great decrease in the congregation at the Brooklyn Tabernacle, where 'Pastor' Russell delivered most of his sermons."

One of the developments of the trial was the indictment of the secretary of the Watch Tower and Bible Tract Society for perjury and his committal to jail for contempt of court because he stated that he could not identify the writing of a fellow defendant who had a desk a few feet away from him for eighteen months.

"Testifying that he 'would have been one of the first men in the country to volunteer' if he had not been a 'consecrated Christian,' Joseph F. Rutherford defined his position on the war on the witness stand.

"My ambition when a boy was always to be a soldier,' Mr. Rutherford said, 'but one cannot follow the Lord Jesus and take human life. I have never been in opposition to the draft, because the draft was covered by an act of Congress, and I think we ought to obey the law. I am opposed to war for consecrated Christians, however.'

"Rutherford testified also that the 1,800 war affidavits sent out by William E. Van Amburgh, treasurer of the Watch Tower Bible and Tract Society, were intended only to establish the fact that the International Bible Students Association was a religious organization.

"We did not take time to investigate the requests that came to our office for these affidavits,' said Rutherford, who is president of the Watch Tower, 'because they merely represent the position of our organization on the question of war. The mere possession of one of our affidavits would not be sufficient to prove that the holder was a member of our society and therefore entitled to exemption on the ground of religious objection. The affidavits were printed to assist local boards to classify men properly.'

"Federal Judge Harland B. Howe made a ruling that settled conclusively the question of defense on religious grounds.

"The Constitution only protects a man's religious beliefs,' said the judge in answer to a statement of the counsel for the defense that 'the Constitution guarantees religious freedom.'

"Ignorance of the law is no excuse and religious belief is no defense to crime. This will be the rule of the court when charging the jury.'

"The result of the trial was the conviction of all the defendants. Seven of the eight were sentenced by the judge to serve twenty years in prison on each of the four counts

in the indictment against them. This would make a term of eighty years in all for each convict, but the judge decided that the sentence might run concurrently, so that the prisoners can look forward to their release as if they had been sentenced to but one term of twenty years.

"Of the eighth man convicted, Giovanni De Cecca, director of the translation of the works of the Russellite organization into the Italian language, Judge Howe said he would defer sentence for further consideration, as the court desired to have his previous career investigated.

"In the opinion of the court," said Judge Howe, "the religious propaganda which these defendants have vigorously advocated and spread throughout the nation, as well as among our allies, is a greater danger than a division of the German Army. If they had taken guns and swords and joined the German Army the harm they could have done would have been insignificant compared with the results of their propaganda. A person preaching religion usually has much influence, and if he is sincere he is all the more effective. This aggravates rather than mitigates the wrong they have done. Therefore, as the only prudent thing to do with such persons, the court has concluded that the punishment should be severe. The sentence is that the defendants serve a term of twenty years in the Federal penitentiary at Atlanta, Ga., on each of the four counts of the indictment, but that the sentences commence and run concurrently, and that they stand committed until the sentence is complied with."

"Turning to ex-Judge Oeland, the special United States prosecutor, and referring to the eight convicted Russellites, Judge Howe said:

"They are worse than traitors. You can catch a traitor and know what he is about. But you cannot catch a man who does what they did under the guise of religion."

There is a special reason for taking such persons in hand legally. Not only must the people be protected from them, but they must be protected from the people, who will take measures of their own if the law does not proceed. On April 22, at Pendleton, Ore., a Russellite named Metz was saved with difficulty from being lynched for circulating pamphlets in defense of "The Finished Mystery." His case and many others revealed a concerted move on the part of the International Bible Students Association to flood the country from Texas to the Pacific Coast simultaneously with circulars.

Propaganda by religion is peculiarly dangerous because it masquerades in the holiest vestments and it subjects those who would expose it and punish it to the easy charge of sacrilege.

Efforts have been made to extend tolerance to those who have genuine religious convictions against war, by offering them non-combatant service, such as the Quakers have been usually willing to perform. But there have been numbers of drafted men who have refused to wear the uniform at all or to obey any commands. If they were not dealt with rigorously the whole principle of universal

service would fall to the ground. It has gone hard with those who have been led to reject the Government's tender of peaceful tasks.

On June 10, in San Antonio, Texas, a court-martial imposed sentences of life imprisonment upon forty-five conscientious objectors who had refused to wear army uniforms. The sentence was reduced to twenty-five years each by Brigadier General J. P. O'Neil, who reviewed the records. The men are nearly all from Oklahoma and members of the Mennonite faith. Some of the Mennonites have refused to bear arms but donned the uniform and accepted work in non-combatant units. The men who were tried refused to put on the uniform and refused to work in any capacity connected with the army. And more than this, they were trying to do missionary work among men who were not conscientious objectors.

They were doubtless moved to the latter course by persons who informed men "whose rights were being invaded" that there was a lawyer in a nearby town who would take up their cause. The men in the camps probably were emboldened by the support which they were getting from pacifist and pro-German societies, and so they took the course which led to their undoing.

The activities of these pacifist and pro-German organizations, especially their "literary" activities, were early called to the attention of the Intelligence Officers in the camps. The aim of these societies was not so much to help conscientious objectors as to weaken the army, a fact proved virtually conclusively by the ascertained knowledge that the American Civil Rights Bureau and another organization or two are simply children of the parent organization, The American Union Against Militarism. The connection between these organizations and the conscientious objectors in the camps was established definitely. It was shown almost beyond peradventure that the result of the activities of these societies would be an effort on the part of men who received their communications to attempt to influence non-conscientious objectors. The final court-martial action was the logical conclusion of the efforts of certain organizations and certain men to hurt the cause of the United States and help that of the Germans.

PHILANTHROPIC SLACKERS.

Hardly less dangerous are certain organizations which, while claiming no religious authority, do assume to be, and often are,

actuated by the noblest motives of philanthropy, of universal brotherhood, of internationalism and of the beauty of peace.

In the first place their benevolence is shared by a far larger number of people than they seem able to imagine. The fiercest warriors are quite as likely to hate war as the most white-livered non-resistants. The best soldiers are generally those who fight with regret for causes more sacred than peace or comfort, or life itself. Just as tender-hearted philanthropists are found among the soldiers, among the stretcher-bearers, the surgeons, the Red Cross and the charity organizations, as among the believers in peace at all costs.

Before a nation enters war, especially a free nation like ours, there must be a great enthusiasm among a fair majority. Once the nation is committed to war, anything that hinders its complete efficiency has one of two effects: It delays the final victory at enormous cost of bloodshed and treasure, or it helps to a defeat with all that means of wasted life and ruined liberty.

Viewed in this light these hostile philanthropists are seen to be less high-minded. They are found to be stubborn, bigoted, ruthless to those who oppose them; sticklers for lesser privileges and chiefly anxious about the welfare of the enemy and of their fellow slackers. Worse yet, they become the facile tools of the enemy's agents and propagandists. They ally themselves with the most vicious enemy and their success is his.

They make a special effort to spread their doctrines among our soldiers, and our camps are under an incessant bombardment of pamphlets, circulars, books, periodicals, letters. Any soldier whom they win over becomes a disease-carrier and spreads the poison.

In the face of the German Government's menace to civilization these people plead with Americans to defy their own government and defend the sacrosanctity of such rights as they would have in times of bucolic peace. They cry aloud that the one danger to civilization is that Americans should attempt to defend it, or ask any sacrifice in its name.

Persons who despised and denounced the Constitution before the war now point to it as the Ark of the Covenant. While the ship is driven toward the rocks they implore the sailors not to obey the Captain. In the name of liberty they call for mutiny.

One example among thousands is a circular for which five persons were tried under the Espionage Act in Philadelphia in June, 1917. A few excerpts are characteristic:

LONG LIVE THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

WAKE UP, AMERICA, YOUR LIBERTIES ARE IN DANGER.

"The thirteenth amendment, section 1, of the Constitution of the United States says: 'Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.'

"The Constitution of the United States is one of the greatest bulwarks of political liberty. It was born after a long, stubborn battle between king rule and democracy. We see little or no difference between arbitrary power under the name of a king and under a few misnamed 'representatives.' In this battle the people of the United States established the principle that freedom of the individual and personal liberty are the most sacred things in life. Without them we become slaves.

"For this principle the fathers fought and died. The establishment of this principle they sealed with their own blood. Do you want to see this principle abolished? Do you want to see despotism substituted in its stead? Shall we prove degenerate sons of illustrious sires?

"A conscript is little better than a convict. He is deprived of his liberty and of his right to think and act as a free man. A conscripted citizen is forced to surrender his right as a citizen and become a subject. He is forced into involuntary servitude. He is deprived of the protection given him by the Constitution of the United States. He is deprived of all freedom of conscience in being forced to kill against his will.

"Are you one who is opposed to war and were you misled by the venal capitalist newspapers, or intimidated or deceived by gang politicians and registrars into believing that you would not be allowed to register your objection to conscription? Do you know that many citizens of Philadelphia insisted on their right to answer the famous question 12 and went on record with their honest opinion of opposition to war, notwithstanding the deceitful efforts of our rulers and the newspaper press to prevent them from doing so? Shall it be said that the citizens of Philadelphia, the cradle of American liberty, are so lost to a sense of right and justice that they will let such monstrous wrongs against humanity go unchallenged?

"Do you want to see unlimited power handed over to Wall Street's chosen few in America?

"Write to your Congressman and tell him you want the law repealed. Do not submit to intimidation.

"Help us wipe out this stain upon the Constitution.

"Help us re-establish democracy in America.

"Remember, 'eternal vigilance is the price of liberty.'

"Down with autocracy.

"Long live the Constitution of the United States. Long live the Republic.

"In lending tacit or silent consent to the conscription law, in neglecting to assert your rights, you are (whether unknowingly or not) helping to condone and support a most infamous and insidious conspiracy to abridge and destroy the sacred and cherished rights of a free people. You are a citizen, not a subject. You delegate your power to the officers of the law to be used for your good and welfare, not against you.

"Will you stand idly by and see the moloch of militarism

reach forth across the sea and fasten its tentacles upon this continent? Are you willing to submit to the degradation of having the Constitution of the United States treated as a 'mere scrap of paper'?

"Do you know that patriotism means a love for your country and not hate for others? Will you be led astray by a propaganda of jingoism masquerading under the guise of patriotism?"

"In the world crisis where do you stand? Are you with the forces of liberty and light or war and darkness?"

It is not surprising to find that the accountable authors of this hysterical outburst wear German names. The infamous pretences that this is a Wall Street war, an insidious trick to filch the people's liberties away, a step toward reducing the republic to slavery, are intolerable. Their influence on the minds of soldiers homesick and weary of camp drudgery is hazardous and the cloven hoof of the propagandist is always revealed, for the defendants in this case, as in most of the others, were found to have included in their proceedings an appropriation for the printing and mailing of these circulars to "men who have passed the exemption board." The plain purpose was to cause "insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, refusal to obey orders or forcible resistance to the recruiting and enlistment service."

Similar documents are issued by the so-called "intellectuals," who profess a mentality superior not only to the emotions of patriotism but even to the necessity for a defense of democratic liberties.

Furthermore these persons by organizing and proselytizing draw to themselves people of no such spiritual character, who find them a convenience. They speedily degenerate into common scolds and general nuisances. They use up public time and energy and keep throwing "sand in the gear box."

If they are not fanatic they will consent to postpone their ambitious projects until the country has freed itself from its perilous embarrassments. If they are fanatic, they should be treated as other madmen are, with gentle but perfect restraint.

The final reasons for their suppression are that it is impossible for the overworked public officials to discriminate between them and the counterfeit organizations of the enemy; that it is impossible to pause to separate the too virtuous from the vicious; and that they are altogether too warmly supported by the partisans of our enemy.

The danger of giving tolerance to these movements is well emphasized in the following editorial in the *New York Times* of May 1, 1918, based upon the *Bonnet Rouge* affair already discussed:

"There is a warning for Americans in the story of the *Bonnet Rouge* treason, and in the ramifications of it. France was poisoned with pacifist propaganda conducted through newspapers, which preached the horrors of war and the desirability of negotiating a peace with Germany. These papers were circulated not only among civilians but among soldiers—especially among soldiers. They bore an appearance of good faith, and they had patriotic names and were blatantly pretenses of patriotism; but always there was the subtle suggestion which was intended to do the poisonous work. Probably there were many honest Frenchmen who said: 'Of course these men are wrong, but no doubt they are sincere and every man is entitled to his opinion.'

"But they were not sincere. They were actually in the pay of Germany. The first proof came in the arrest of Duval, the business manager of one of these newspapers, on his way back from Switzerland with a check for over \$30,000. This and many other checks he had received from a German banker named Marx for the purpose of paralyzing French efficiency with his sanctimonious talk of peace, and Marx was the agent of the German Government which paid Duval's newspaper alone more than \$200,000.

"These methods are peculiarly suggestive of the methods of Americans who have been doing the same kind of work on this side of the water. The method is to excite distrust of France's allies, to harp on the old national grudges. It is the same method which was used in Italy last year with such success as to bring about the defeat of Cadorna's army. If any Americans can read this story without seeing the close similarity of what went on in France last year to what has been going on in America without hindrance ever since the war began, they must be singularly lacking in the ability to draw obvious conclusions."

' PROPAGANDA AMONG THE LABOR ORGANIZATIONS.

The military importance of labor is self-evident. Without an enormous, incessant and reliable manufacture of ships, munitions, equipment, uniforms and supplies of every sort, it is impossible to maintain an army abroad at all. On the extent and steadiness of the labor element the success of the armies is dependent.

In general, the laborers, both organized and unorganized, have given magnificent support to the cause, and have generally postponed their problems till after the war, except in certain instances where the great increase in the cost of living has compelled some wage adjustments.

There have been, however, among laborers as among all other classes, certain individuals and certain factions that have refused to subordinate their ideals or their theories to the general emergency.

The most conspicuous instance of this has been the Independent Workers of the World. Investigation has shown that this organization has much to be said in its justification and that its opponents have often been guilty of brutality, indifference, and

contempt of both law and humanity. The Department of Justice has prosecuted those persons in Arizona who carried out the forcible deportation of I. W. W. members and it is of the utmost importance that the present emergency should not be manipulated as an excuse for oppression or reaction. The profiteer and the tyrant are also enemies of the country and are not above slandering the better elements of the I. W. W.

The I. W. W. is made up of human beings of various sorts and is neither so noble as its sponsors pretend, nor so vile as its opponents maintain. Great and laborious accomplishment are to be credited to some of its members, but others have undoubtedly devoted themselves to evil works. The proof is overwhelming that many of the leaders are men of the most hopeless anarchism toward all manner of government; that they have allied themselves with the irreconcilables of every sort from the literary dreamers to the illiterate vagrants, that they have advocated not only resistance to the most liberal shop rules, but destruction in the most heinous forms.

The much advertised creed of sabotage justifies not merely the neglect of the tasks for which men are paid, but the ruination of machinery and the destruction of shops even at the risk of the lives of fellow workers. Some of them carry their gospel of hatred so far that they advise their members to burn their blankets, empty sugar bowls into coffee and trample bread into the ground in the pure love of mischief. In Charleston, S. C., June 11, 1918, a 16-year-old boy of German extraction was found guilty of placing bits of nails in a pneumatic drill. He was sentenced to four years in the National Training School for Boys.

Some of the I. W. W. indulge in the most wholesale denunciations of every form of human society, and denounce this republic as a tyranny worse than any other. A few of them include the Kaiser amongst their diatribes, but others cordially wish him success. It is certain that the pro-German elements have found the I. W. W. an instrument made to their hand and have wielded it with disastrous effect upon the output of the forests, the farms, the mines, and the factories, and upon the transportation systems.

Our Government is of the people, by and for the people, a Government of majorities with many checks upon their tyranny over the minority. The logical and convenient method for changing any social detail is to persuade the majority. As soon as the majority is convinced, the change is easily made. As long as the ma-

majority is opposed to an innovation, the effort to force it on the public by violence or by underhanded methods is an effort against freedom and not for it. The I. W. W. presents therefore a dilemma and a contradiction in its own terms.

Among its membership perhaps the majority are innocent of treason in any form, but all too many have made a ruthless effort to defame the spirit and paralyze the military power of the nation in this war. Many who are not downright well-wishers of Germany are such ill-wishers to this republic that they amount to allies of our enemies.

ANARCHIST PROPAGANDA.

American citizens generally believe that the United States is a free country, and that whenever its restrictions prove irksome, they can be removed by the people themselves acting along certain well-established lines of procedure.

But there are many persons and groups of persons who are not satisfied with democratic institutions or with the means for modifying them. These persons believe, or at least assert, that the United States Government is a despotism that must be destroyed. They said it before the war. They say it with even more violence now that the Government had to subject the people to some of the rigors of war in order to protect its liberties.

The Anarchists denounce this republic in the same terms they used against the Czardom of Russia at its absolute height. They would cheerfully destroy all authority in this Government, even though the result might be the substitution of a German autocracy for the present democracy; even though they have before them the terrible example of Russia under the heel of Germany as a result of the relaxation of its discipline.

Their object is to undermine this Government by any means. They succeed somehow in securing funds for the publication of propaganda and in finding agencies to distribute it broadcast. Many Anarchistic publications are issued throughout the world. In the United States they are issued surreptitiously in many languages. Their violent words go hand in hand with violent deeds, destruction, death and terrorism.

Numerous headquarters have been raided and many publications seized, but their activity does not cease and they continue to seek and to find ways to evade the postal laws and the recent agreement of the express companies to carry nothing forbidden in the mails.

The latest example of Anarchist publications was disclosed in the newspapers of May 15, 1918, from which is quoted the following account of the capture of unusually ambitious propaganda:

"A nation-wide anarchist plot, the purpose of which was secret agitation in all parts of the country against the United States Government and the spreading of Bolshevist propaganda was frustrated yesterday when the police, following an investigation that has been under way several weeks, arrested Ivan Novikoff, a Russian writer, who is said to be employed by the *Nova Mir*, the paper with which Leon Trotsky was connected when in this country; Leon Bobkin, and Alexander Burkach.

"The new anarchist group, which is of Russian origin, wants to spread its propaganda through the secret circulation of a monthly magazine called *Kolokol*, which in English means *The Bell*. The first issue of this paper was printed last week, and more than 30,000 copies are said to have been ready for distribution by express and messenger to Chicago, Boston, and other cities.

"Many other arrests, it was said, would probably follow, the authorities being in possession of the names of several thousand persons in various parts of the country who are believed to be active sympathizers and supporters of the new group. The men under arrest will be turned over to the Federal authorities this morning. They are held at Police Headquarters charged with entering into a conspiracy to overthrow the Government of the United States. It was said last night that this may prove to be a case that will call forth the most drastic action permitted by law.

"In the basement of the building occupied by the Russian paper *Nova Mir*, at 113 East Tenth Street, Lieutenant George Busbee of the Bomb Squad, who directed the investigation, found 3,000 copies of *Kolokol*. David Goldfield, editor of *Nova Mir*, was summoned to police headquarters yesterday afternoon and examined at length by Lieutenant Busbee and agents of the Federal Government.

"We have information," said Lieutenant Busbee, "that Novikoff, Durkach, and other anarchists have been conspiring to start an agitation in the United States, the brazen purpose of which was nothing less than the overthrow of our Government and the establishment of a reign of terror. Of course, they never had a chance, even if the conspiracy had not been nipped before it could even get started. We have a long list of persons who have given financial support to the movement, the money being contributed to pay for distributing anti-American propaganda throughout the country. The man Novikoff edited the first issue of the paper, while Durkach was intrusted with the work of getting the financial backing. Bobkin appears to have been a more or less ignorant tool of the other two."

"To circulate the paper the anarchists packed the copies in boxes which were labeled as containing canned goods, lemons, and dried fruits. Several of these boxes were taken to express offices, where they were seized by the police.

"Lieutenant Busbee said the arrests were the most important since the taking of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, both of whom are followers of the Russian anarchistic group, and both of whom are now serving terms in Federal prisons.

"The evidence shows," said an agent of the Department of

Justice, after he had glanced over a copy of *Kolokol*, 'that a more dangerous group of anarchists has never operated in this country. This propaganda not only calls for the overthrow of our Government, but it also seeks to poison the very souls of the people. For instance, one of its objects is to create dissension among the working people and to hold up Government war work through a campaign to keep men from working overtime and to bring about strikes not only in private but in Government works as well. There are a great many Russians employed in shipyards and munition plants, and should those men refuse to work overtime you can easily imagine what it would mean to our ship program and other war efforts.'

"Some of the cities which the new group selected as propaganda centers were Cleveland, the center of the Great Lakes shipping industry; Detroit, the center of the automobile industry, and also one of the principal centers for the production of airplanes; Pittsburgh, in the steel area; Wilkesbarre and other coal centers; San Francisco, Tacoma, Baltimore, Boston, Philadelphia, and scores of other leading cities in every part of the country.

"The first page of the first issue of *Kolokol* bears the official motto of the group, which is taken from the writings of the Russian anarchist, Bakunin, and which when translated into English reads:

"The spirit of destruction is the spirit of reconstruction.'

"An editorial on the second page says that 'This paper starts as a monthly journal,' and that the backers of it 'fully realize the responsible and difficult task confronting us.'

"Long live anarchy! Long live social revolution! Forward, comrades. Down with Government! Down with separate property! Long live national self-determination, equality, and fraternity,' the editorial concludes.

"In another part of the *Bell*, which is sixteen pages in size and printed on the finest newsprint paper, it is stated that 'before the war freedom existed in the United States,' but the writer adds that it has disappeared now.

"On page 14, under the caption 'The Damnable Trinity,' it is written:

"Make one big stride, and you shall be free. Free in brotherhood and in equality. Eliminate private property, and over the heads of Government and law organize free and independent self-governing communes.'

"In another part of the paper is this reference to patriotism in the schools:

"It is self-evident that schools as well as other institutions did not remain untouched as before the war. In the schools they, with all their intrigue, endeavor to inject patriotism into the children. Out of them now they are trying to make mental degenerates, organizing humoristic troupes, or coercing them under the obligation of the loan. And these very children who fail to do this are persecuted and not taught, kept without dinner, are given bad marks, and their parents threatened.

"Always bad for the workers in the plants and factories at all times, but now more so, if the worker is not a patriot. If he does not buy Liberty loans there is no place for him, no work, and he is thrown out to starve. He is blacklisted and persecuted. For this kind of worker it is hard to find a job, because the bosses demand from him most of the time reference from their place of employment.'"

CHAPTER VI.

PROPAGANDA BY DISSENSION.

The attempt to set up internal conflict in our country finds endless opportunities. One familiar method is to call this a rich man's war; another is to say that the wealthy are making vast profits while the poor go hungry; or to say that the rich men's sons are slackers while the poor men's sons do the fighting; or to claim that labor is being crucified—all these are meant to cause a feud between capital and labor. No phrase seems too contemptuous for some of these critics, who can see nothing more in our ideals and the liberties we are fighting for than what one of them summed up in a sneering epigram as "A Government of the people by the rascals for the rich."

There are numberless ways of attacking an army from the rear. It is vulnerable in the munitions works, the flour mills, the ship yards, the barbed-wire and shoe factories, the wheat fields or in the spruce forest at the extreme distance.

To cause strikes, sabotage or discontent in any of the multitudinous industries on which a modern army relies, has exactly the same effect on its success as to bombard it with shrapnel, for it accomplishes the same result of removing from the fighting strength just so many effectives. And an enemy wins not by the total of its enrollment, but by the total of its effectives. On all sides the Germans endeavor untiringly to foment strikes. Propaganda is the ideal means for creating labor unrest.

Soldiers can not be effective nowadays unless they are supplied with the best and most accurate weapons, unlimited stores of ammunition and perfectly equipped reserves, whose numbers, morale and training enable them to enter the battle at its crisis with a decisive effect. The side that has the final reserves after the bloody cancellation of the engagement is the side that wins.

The charge that this is a war for the capitalists has something more than an academic interest. To convince one soldier in the firing line or on the way to it, or in a training camp, that the cause for which his life is put in jeopardy is an unworthy cause in which he has no personal interest; that he goes, indeed, not as a warrior defending his own liberties, but as a driven slave upholding tyrants

who use him for their own ends, is to rob that one soldier of every impulse to endure hardship, to respect discipline, to face death rather than surrender. It is to make a mutineer of a possible hero, to plant in the ranks a source of corruption, to place in a post of responsibility one who would rather surrender than fight, rather shoot his own officer than the enemy, and rather run home than charge forward.

Assuming that the men in the trenches are all convinced of the righteousness of their mission and that they fight for their own pride of freedom, they will none the less speedily lose heart if they imagine that they are not supported at home; if they find themselves left without ammunition; if the gaps that death makes in their ranks are not filled. They feel themselves abandoned and betrayed.

The bravest and most efficient soldier refuses to waste himself in futile attacks. Everything that diminishes his pride in his uniform and his feeling that he gains respect from it is a blow at his morale. There is no more outrageous treason than that which in editorial, speech and cartoon represents the soldier as a hireling, or as an oppressor of labor and an enemy of liberty.

PROPAGANDA AMONG FRIENDLY ALIENS.

To create distrust and confusion among our native soldiery, being a constant aim of the propagandist, he naturally supplements this work by the effort to stir up dissension among the loyal foreigners.

Poland, for example, has no cause to love Germany, and thousands of Poles have volunteered to fight against her. There are about 35,000 Poles in our army. They have been distracted by many papers in their own language endeavoring to convince them that they are mistreated. These papers were owned or subsidized by German or Austrian interests. They and their followers spread slanders on America, on patriotic Polish leaders, and generally aim to scatter dissension.

What is true of the Poles is true of nearly all the other foreign born populace, the Bohemians, Hungarians, Italians, Greeks and the others. No sooner does a group of loyal aliens organize than every member of it and every leader is subjected to a campaign of the most vicious propaganda.

PROPAGANDA AMONG THE NEGROES.

Unending attempts are made to render the American negroes resentful and disloyal. In the early part of the war, emissaries of Germany traveled about with the ambition and the hope of raising negro insurrections throughout the South.

The newspapers as late as April 12, 1918, described the attempt in New York City as follows:

"German agents, Federal authorities have reason to believe, have sought to transform the negro sections of the city into a 'hinterland' for the propagation of false and morale-affecting rumors. These concerned the tens of thousands of colored men who wear the uniform of Uncle Sam.

"As fertile fields for their work they selected the region about 'San Juan Hill,' on the middle West Side, and the 'black belt' of Harlem. Both sections have recently been alive with reports of mistreatment of negro troops.

"According to Emmett J. Scott, special assistant to Secretary of War Baker, the rumors have been to the effect:

"(1) That in the American expeditionary forces only negroes will be used as 'shock' troops.

"(2) That negroes abroad are severely abused by their officers.

(3) That the Germans have threatened to torture to death all negro soldiers captured in battle.

"(4) That there are now at Columbia Hospital (Base No. 1, New York City) two hundred negro soldiers with their eyes gouged out and arms cut off by Germans, the idea being that after the Germans get through with them they are sent back to the American lines and shipped home.

"These reports have been so malignant that leaders among the New York negro colony have been conducting a quiet investigation to ascertain their genesis. One of the investigators is Dr. E. P. Roberts, of No. 130 West One Hundred and Thirtieth street. He said yesterday:

"'Certain saloons in my section run by men of German birth or extraction seem to be the central rumor factories. Here negroes who, perhaps, have relatives in the United States service are told Germany is bound to win the war. They are also told that Germans think a lot of the colored people, who are better treated in German East African colonies than anywhere in the world.

"'It is the old propaganda by which Germany sought to influence the Hindus and the Jews.'

"Dr. Roberts and Fred R. Moore, editor of the *New York Age*, said it had been impossible to trace the rumors to any specific individuals.

"Eugene K. Jones, executive secretary of the National League on Urban Conditions Among Negroes, at No. 2303 Seventh avenue, said:

"'The Kaiser's agents will find Harlem an unfertile field for enemy propaganda.'

"Denying the rumors as ridiculous and untrue, Special Assistant to the Secretary of War Scott yesterday pointed out that there

were now more than 1,000 negro commissioned officers in the United States army. He added:

"To meet isolated cases of alleged mistreatment of colored soldiers by white officers in camps and cantonments, Secretary Baker ordered a special investigation on November 30, 1917, and has continued to order such reports investigated whenever they have come to the War Department. Wherever there has been ground for the charge of mistreatment, official responsibility therefor has been fixed. The guilty officer or others responsible have been discharged from the service or adequate punishment inflicted.'"

There has none the less been a certain amount of unrest created among the negroes. Its German significance is seen in the case of an ex-preacher employed on camp construction, who was heard telling his fellow laborers that he would like to see the Kaiser destroy some of our cities, civilize Americans and rule over the whole world.

An officer of the Military Intelligence Branch, who has made a special study of this field, contributes the following estimate of the situation:

"Unrest among colored people has continued to increase, and while the interposition of German agents may be traced in individual cases, the causes of unrest are more fundamental.

"For many years two schools of thought have existed among the colored people of the country; one represented by Booker T. Washington, which placed emphasis on the need of individual training and the development of economic power among negroes in order that they might compete economically with the white men; the other represented by W. E. B. DuBois, which emphasized agitation for political and civil rights, and which insisted that no amount of industrial training would obtain these rights without such agitation. Since the death of Dr. Washington and the racial ferment caused by the European war, it may be stated that virtually every colored man has, to a certain extent, reacted against the theory of compromise and conciliation represented by Dr. Washington, and all are in favor of a more radical agitation for civil and political rights. Through two hundred colored newspapers and numerous negro conventions; through churches, fraternal organizations and individual discussions, this idea has reached large masses of colored people. The movement was independent of German interposition and would have continued along these lines even if we had not declared war against Germany.

"As a result of this movement, virtually for the first time in American history large masses of colored people have realized and

resented the discriminations directed against their race. They have been particularly moved by the contrast between the immediate punishment of the thirteen negro soldiers guilty of connection with the Houston riots, who were executed without public notice of their conviction, and the freedom from punishment of the thousands of white people responsible for the lynching of over three thousand negroes in the last forty or fifty years. At the time of the execution of the thirteen negroes, many of the colored school teachers of Washington wore bands of crape on their arms, and as the lynchings have continued—over two hundred colored people have been lynched since the declaration of war against Germany—the resentment has increased.

“As a result of this condition, colored people everywhere are discussing their inferior status with a detachment never before known to them. If you were to travel across the continent and visit colored homes all along the way, you would not find one in which such questions as these were not being calmly debated: ‘Why should colored people take an interest in this war? Why should they fight to make the world safe for democracy abroad, when it is neither democratic nor safe for them here? What difference would it make to the race if this country was under the dominion of Germany instead of the Southern white man?’ These questions imply no disloyalty, but simply a new attitude of inquiry, and the birth of a critical spirit among twelve million American citizens.

“As a result of this new attitude, every detail of discrimination which was formerly taken for granted, is now being subjected to a new scrutiny, is repeated over and over, and becomes exaggerated as a result of such repetition. The following case will indicate the spread of such details:

“Several months ago, through a number of sources, it was learned that many colored people were convinced that a number of colored soldiers had been returned from France in a horribly mutilated condition, and that they were in local hospitals, some with their eyes gouged out, others with their tongues cut out; also that colored troops abroad were given the most dangerous positions, were neglected when wounded, and left to die on the ground. A number of the leading colored people were taken to the hospitals mentioned and were shown that these rumors were unfounded, and that the few colored soldiers in the hospitals were what the surgeon described as “not even interesting cases.” The local

colored community was satisfied and the rumor cleared for a while.

"In a short time, however, a similar report crept out elsewhere. The information reached us that the colored maids, in fact, the whole colored population, of a suburb near New York were completely demoralized by a report of the ill treatment of the colored troops abroad. The Military Intelligence Branch cabled to General Pershing and received a definite and explicit report from him by cablegram, showing that the rumor was not only unfounded, but that most of the colored troops were not in actual service, and only a handful had been wounded in action. This information was spread through the press, and a temporary quietus was given to the rumor by it.

"But recently a report has crept out again from another source: The wife of a colored captain was informed from ten different sources that her husband had been badly wounded and was in a hospital in Washington, although no report of his wounds had been officially sent to her. This, of course, turned out to be a false rumor, but the point is that this rumor appeared and reappeared in different places. As soon as disposed of and quieted in one place, these rumors reappear in some other place in about the time it would take for such rumor to reach a distant point. They weaken seriously the morale of the colored people, and in so far as they weaken the morale of twelve million people of the best possible fighting material, they must be given serious consideration by military authorities."

PROPAGANDA BY RUMOR.

The most dangerous influence of all perhaps is one that can hardly be traced to its origins. It is the process of creating an atmosphere, preparing a soil in which all manner of noxious weeds breed of themselves and spring up on all sides almost overnight. Once started they are almost impossible to uproot. The most innocent persons unconsciously contribute to the spread of these plagues and punishment of the guilty is prevented by their multitude.

It has been shown how victorious Italian armies were turned into fugitive mobs by the powers of rumor. So whole populations can be discouraged in the hour of success or buoyed up in times of despair by gossip skillfully managed.

The baleful power of rumor has always been recognized, but under the modern name of propaganda it has gained an enormous

increase of power both for good and evil, because of the enormous increase of facilities.

Everybody reads and writes, and the postal service is of vast proportions. The telephone, telegraph and cable systems bring the remotest ears within access of the whispers of gossip. The newspapers go into every home and make the whole world one neighborhood. By their generous use of the wire-service, long articles may be made to appear simultaneously at almost every breakfast table in the land.

Thus while scientific and mechanical progress go on enlarging the scope of our daily life, and giving everything a cosmopolitan significance, at the same time they are making the world more and more one town. We are all neighbors, and at the mercy of one another's tongues.

It is in no sense a mere bit of rhetoric but an absolute fact that any diminution soever of the maximum power and enthusiasm of a nation at war has a direct and perilous military effect.

The person, therefore, who by any means keeps one soldier from the front or who mars the perfection of his efficiency has done exactly what the open enemy in the opposite trench does when he kills one of our soldiers. Indeed, he has done yet more, for he has left that enemy free to spend that bullet in the killing of another soldier.

In a country so large as ours, and so far removed from the seat of war, propaganda becomes almost the only weapon with a long enough reach to be effective. The extraordinary extent of the circulation of newspapers and magazines in America gives this weapon an unlimited range.

PROPAGANDA BY CARTOON AND ESSAY.

Though the vast majority of American writers and artists have devoted their abilities with great ardor to the cause of their country, there have been a few satirists who have been unable to respond to the crisis, and have preferred to devote their abilities to interfering with the success of the war.

A small group of these was concerned in the cooperative publication of a paper of small circulation called *The Masses*. The Postmaster of New York having finally forbidden the mails to the August, 1917, issue under the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917, an injunction was sought to restrain him.

The Postmaster had fortified himself with an opinion from the Judge Advocate General of the Army, who stated that "the necessary effect of the issue of this August number would be to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the naval and military forces of the United States, and that it would obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States."

The U. S. District Court for the Southern District of New York granted a temporary injunction on July 26, 1917. The Postmaster took an appeal and the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals, Second Circuit, reversed the injunction.

The opinion handed down contains an important account of the methods and aims of this school of propagandists and their relation to the principle of the freedom of the press, the law and many precedents being freely quoted, and the Court holding that "The Espionage Act, in so far as it excludes from the mails certain matters declared to be unmailable, is constitutional."

From this decision, issued as Bulletin No. 7 by the Department of Justice, the following description of the objectionable matter is quoted:

"The objectionable matter was contained in the August issue, and consisted of certain articles. These were entitled 'A Question,' 'A Tribute,' 'Conscientious Objectors,' 'Friends of American Freedom.' Besides these articles there were four cartoons which were also objected to. These were entitled 'Liberty Bell,' 'Conscription,' 'Making the World Safe for Capitalism' and 'Congress and Big Business.'

"The article 'A Question' idealizes those who resist the conscription law and it represents them as heroic. In saying that the law violates sacred rights and is contrary to liberty and that those who refuse to submit to it are heroes it incites disobedience to the statute.

"The poem entitled 'A Tribute' represents as martyrs worthy of admiration two notorious persons who had just been convicted under an indictment charging them with conspiracy to induce persons not to register under the conscription act. It reads in part as follows:

"Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman

"Are in prison tonight.

"But they have made themselves elemental forces.

"Like the water that climbs down the rocks,

"Like the wind in the leaves,

"Like the gentle night that holds us,

"They are working on our destinies;

"They are forging the love of the nations.

"The statement that these two individuals have made themselves elemental forces akin to the rocks and trees and rivers, under ordinary circumstances would be harmless, but coming at this particular time and after their conviction, the inference being that their greatness grows out of their offense and that

they are worthy of admiration and honor, is equivalent to saying that their unlawful conduct is worthy to be followed.

"The article, 'Conscientious Objectors,' refers to a number of letters written from English prisons by conscientious objectors. These letters are printed in the same issue of the magazine, and the article recommends those in this country who intend 'to stick it out to the end' (resist conscription to the end) to read thoroughly the letters.

"The article, taken as a whole, may well be regarded as intended to encourage objectors to be as steadfast protestors against 'government tyranny' as their English comrades. In other words, it is an encouragement to disobey the law.

"The Article 'Friends of American Freedom' is devoted to Alexander Berkman and Emma Goldman, already commented upon in this opinion as having been convicted of a conspiracy to induce persons not to register. The article pays them 'tribute of admiration for their courage and devotion.' There is an allusion to the fact that Berkman and Goldman had advocated in their paper, *Mother Earth*, that those liable to the military draft who do not believe in the war should refuse to register. The natural effect of it is to encourage those who have objections to war not to register as the conscription act requires. Admiration of conspirators convicted of the offense of seeking to defeat the operation of the conscription act is equivalent to an approval of their crime and an encouragement to others to disobey the law in like manner.

"In considering the cartoons we may observe that political cartoons have long been used as a very effective means of political propaganda. They were so employed in France during the French Revolution and in England as early as the days of Walpole. In this country they were used during the Revolution, in the War of 1812, and in the Civil War. The brilliant cartoons of Nast satirizing the Tweed ring in the city of New York were conceded at the time to have exerted a powerful influence in the destruction of that corrupt combination. A cartoon may be a leading article. It has been described as 'a leading article transformed into a picture.' It can express ideas as lucidly and clearly as printed words, and there is no escape from legal responsibility because pictures rather than words are used.

"In the cartoon entitled 'Liberty Bell' the Liberty Bell is presented in a broken form. The idea meant to be conveyed may be that there is no such thing as liberty left in the United States. But whatever it means, taken by itself, it would afford no ground for exclusion from the mails.

"The cartoon entitled 'Conscription' portrays a youth lying across the mouth of a cannon with his arms chained to the wheels of the gun carriage. 'Democracy,' in the form of a nude woman, is tied by her extended arms and her crossed feet to a wheel. And 'Labor,' crouched down on a gun carriage, a pitiable object, is fastened in like manner. A woman is on her knees on the earth at the side of the cannon in utter despair, with her head bent back and her arms uplifted, while a child lies neglected at her side. The counsel for the complainant admits in his brief that this cartoon 'is a powerful argument against the conscription law. It says, in effect, that the youth of the land are by it forced into military service; that the law binds labor to military service as well; that it causes great agony and suffering to the womanhood of the country, and that the mothers of the

country with children too small to be subject to the "draft" pray to God that the draft law may be repealed before their children come to military age, and that democracy is trampled under foot by such a law. That is what this picture says.' But that is not what it says to us. It seems to us to say, 'This law murders youth, enslaves labor to its misery, drives womanhood into utter despair and agony, and takes away from democracy its freedom.' Its voice is not the voice of patriotism and its language suggests disloyalty.

"If counsel wished the court to understand that in his opinion the effect of the cartoon would not be to interfere with enlistment, we are not able to agree with him. That it would interfere and was intended to interfere was evidently the opinion of the Postmaster General. And this court can not say that he was not justified in his conclusion.

"The cartoon 'Making the World Safe for Capitalism' shows a Russian absorbed in studying a paper marked 'Plans for a Genuine Democracy.' On one side of him Japan and England appear in a threatening attitude and on the other Mr. Root and Mr. Russell, members of the commission sent by the United States to Russia, appear in the guise of advisers. Mr. Root has in his hands a noose labeled 'Advice,' with which it is intended to entrap or choke to death the Russian democracy. The court can not say that the Postmaster General was not warranted in concluding that this cartoon was intended to arouse the resentment of some of our citizens of foreign birth and prevent their enlistment.

"In the cartoon 'Congress and Big Business' Congress is represented by a disconsolate individual who is ignored by a number of overdeveloped men of big business gathered around a table inspecting a large paper spread over it and labeled 'War Plans.' Congress is quoted as saying: 'Excuse me, gentlemen, where do I come in?' 'Big Business' replies: 'Run along now! We got through with you when you declared war for us.' This cartoon is intended to stir up class hatred of the war and to arouse an unwillingness to serve in the military and naval forces of the United States. The clear import is, if the war was brought on by 'big business,' then let 'big business' carry it on and let labor stand aloof. The court cannot say that the Postmaster General was clearly wrong in concluding that it would interfere with enlistments.

"That one may willingly obstruct the enlistment service without advising in direct language against enlistments, and without stating that to refrain from enlistment is a duty or in one's interest seems to us too plain for controversy. To obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service within the meaning of the statute it is not necessary that there should be a physical obstruction. Anything which impedes, hinders, retards, restrains, or puts an obstacle in the way of recruiting is sufficient. In granting the stay of the injunction until this case could be heard in this court upon the appeal, Judge Hough declared that 'It is at least arguable whether there can be any more direct incitement to action than to hold up to admiration those who do act. *Oratio obliqua* has always been preferred by rhetoricians to *oratio recta*; the beatitudes have for some centuries been considered highly hortatory, though they do not contain the injunction "Go thou and do likewise."' With this statement we fully agree. Moreover it is not necessary that an incitement to crime must be direct. At common law the 'counseling' which constituted one

an accessory before the fact might be indirect. (See Wharton's Criminal Law, 11th ed., sec. 266.)

"Bishop lays down the rule thus:

"Every man is responsible criminally for what of wrong flows directly from his corrupt intentions. * * * If he awoke into action an indiscriminate power, he is responsible. If he gave directions vaguely and incautiously, and the person receiving them acted according to what he might have foreseen would be the understanding, he is responsible. (1 Bishop on Criminal Law, sec. 641.)"

"And in *Regina v. Sharpe* (3 Cox's C. C., 288) it is laid down that—

"He who inflames people's minds and induces them by violent means to accomplish an illegal object is himself a rioter, though he takes no part in the riot."

"Indeed the court does not hesitate to say that, considering the natural and reasonable effect of the publication, it was intended willfully to obstruct recruiting. And even though we were not convinced that any such intent existed and were in doubt concerning it, the case would be governed by the principle that the head of a department of the Government, in a doubtful case, will not be overruled by the courts in a matter which involves his judgment and discretion and which is within his jurisdiction."

Several of the publishers of *The Masses* were brought to trial on charges of violating the Espionage Act.

The defendants protested that they had changed their minds since this publication and that they were now convinced of the justice of our entry into the war, and the necessity of the conscription act. Largely on account of this recantation, no doubt, the jury disagreed after remaining out for thirty-six hours.

VARIOUS LIES: THE SWEATER STORY.

As there is hardly a field of human endeavor that is not affected by the war, there is hardly a field which the hostility of the enemy has overlooked. This is what might be called the spiritual invasion. Anything that tends to diminish the ardor, the conviction, the optimism of the people at large, is hardly less destructive of effectiveness than an actual defeat on the battleground.

At a time when the whole nation must bend every energy and make every sacrifice, discouraging rumors gain an incalculable power. The ridicule of measures concerning food conservation, or aspersions on their honesty, or impartiality, may have as destructive a result as the torpedoing of food-ships. The starting of some picturesque lie such as the absurdity that the President's private secretary had been found guilty of treason and shot, spreads like wild-fire through the nation, carrying discouragement and dismay.

The famous sweater story is a typical case: It is of the greatest importance to the health of our troops that sweaters, socks, wrist-lets and "helmets" should be knitted for them by the devoted women of the land, and an enormous quantity of these articles provided from the countless hand looms.

Suddenly a story appeared somewhere that a woman who had knitted a sweater and sewed into it a bank note for the comfort of the wearer, found that sweater on the back of a Red Cross agent, or on the counter of a department store. This story reappeared with inconceivable frequency in the United States. It was almost always told as the experience of a friend of a friend, and had just transpired in each instance.

Every woman who hears and believes this circumstantial story is inclined to give up her work. The sum total of such a diminution of output can not be computed. In times of peace such examples of wireless gossip are merely amusing encouragements to satire. In a time of war, they constitute a serious danger.

The extent of this form of propaganda was revealed by the American Protective League, which sent out a Questionnaire to about one hundred and fifty towns and cities. The story of the execution of the President's secretary, the sweater story, and various other fables were reported as rife in Chicago, Cincinnati, Pittsburgh, Kansas City, Cleveland, Fort Wayne, Minneapolis, Galveston, Houston, Hastings, Nebr.; Memphis, Tenn.; Rice Lake, Wis.; Pierre, S. Dak.; Sacramento, Portland, Oreg.; Tucson, Ariz., and nearly every other community. In many cases it is impossible to trace such stories directly to German sources, but they are no less dangerous for being of American origin. Rumor-mongers are as proper subjects for investigation and repression as mutinous soldiers, deserters or traitors in the ranks.

The Milwaukee *Sentinel* of June 21, 1918, announced a new story going the rounds to the effect that Japan is getting ready to attack the United States as soon as all our draftmen are out of the country.

In San Francisco a German clairvoyant was arrested for giving out prophecies of pro-German successes to her dupes.

Stories of naval disasters to our fleet, quotations from eye-witnesses, once-removed, of hundreds of wounded sailors seen being smuggled into hospitals; stories of epidemics sweeping through our camps; tales of hardships and cruelties and immoralities—all these tend not only to agonize the kindred of our soldiers and sailors, but

to diminish enlistment, to strengthen the pacifists and the aliens, to encourage resistance to the draft. Statements that Liberty Bonds and Thrift Stamps are worthless and will be repudiated have a direct financial menace.

People and societies of loudly proclaimed sincerity have promulgated the most outrageous slanders proclaiming the immorality of Red Cross nurses and the drunkenness and viciousness of our troops abroad and at home. Such libels left unpunished not only reward the noblest patriots with unmerited dishonor, but they discourage sacrifice and instil a paralyzing cynicism.

The running down of such rumors takes time and labor and organization, but it is vital to our efficiency not only to stamp out such libel, but to bring home to our population, native and foreign, that they manufacture and disseminate such rumors at their peril.

The German military party regarded America with a frank contempt, and boasted openly that they were prepared for any National activity. They spoke with confidence of the damage that they would do to the United States. Great damage has indeed been done in innumerable ways, and especially by what has come to be known as the "Whispering Propaganda."

TRACING A RUMOR.

As a striking example of the rapidity with which rumor spreads and the irresponsibility of its promulgators, the two following documents are worth quoting. They are reports of an effort to run down an atrocity story. The reports are verbatim except for the change of names of persons, hotels and streets:

"From: Captain ———.

"To: Captain ———.

"Subject: Report of outrage upon soldier.

"1. Lt. Col. ——— instructed the writer to make an investigation of the following matter:

"2. It was reported by Lt. ——— of Col. ———'s staff that he had heard through a young lady at the Vendome Hotel, this city, who had in turn heard from her sister this information, that a soldier at the ——— Hospital in ——— had been sent there from France with his tongue cut out.

"3. It was reported that the mother of this soldier or a friend of his had gone to the hospital to see him. Upon her arrival there a nurse or a doctor had taken her to his room, previous to which she was warned not to speak to him. The nature of his injury was not communicated to the mother or friend until after the visit to this soldier, when she was told that his tongue had been cut out.

"4. Miss Mary Smith, telephone operator at the Hotel Vendome, stated that she had received this information from her sister, a Mrs. Jones, telephone operator at the Hamilton Hotel. Miss Smith's story was substantially the same as is outlined in the preceding paragraph.

"5. Mrs. Jones, telephone operator at the Hamilton Hotel, was interviewed and stated that she had heard from a Miss White, also a telephone operator at the Hamilton, that the mother of this boy went to the hospital to see him and they made her promise not to talk to him. She was later told upon leaving the hospital that the boy had his tongue cut out.

"6. Miss White was interviewed at her address, 146 Astor Street. She was up to a week ago employed as a telephone operator at the Vendome, but has left her position. She stated the story was told her by her aunt, Mrs. S. G. White, of 136 Astor Street. She did not know the mother of this boy, and the details of the story in her mind were a little vague.

"7. Mrs. S. G. White, 136 Astor Street, was interviewed, and her story varied a little from that given previously. The writer assumed that he was going to locate the mother of this soldier, as up to this time the stories were all about the same. Mrs. White, however, stated that she did not understand that the mother of this boy had visited him, but there was such a soldier confined at the hospital with such an injury. She stated that the story had been told her by a Mrs. Green, 156 Astor Street, and by a Mrs. Young, 131 Astor Street. She had also heard it for some weeks past from various sources more or less to the effect as given above.

"8. Mrs. Green, 156 Astor Street, was interviewed, and she stated that she could not recall the source of this information, but had heard it talked about generally in public places and during her various calls as a Liberty Loan solicitor.

"9. While at Mrs. Green's house, her brother, Mr. F. J. Right, made his appearance and stated that he had heard through a Mr. J. M. Simpson, residing at 727 Dupont Street, that a Mr. Samuel Porter, deputy superintendent, above company, had made a speech a week previous to the agents of this company, wherein he stated that he had been to the ——— Hospital and had seen a soldier there who had had his tongue cut out by the Germans.

"10. Mrs. Young, 131 Astor Street, was interviewed and stated that she had heard this rumor, but could not recall from whom she had heard it, as it had been more or less common talk now for several weeks with many of the women of her acquaintance."

(Above report dated May 21.)

The following is dated June 4, 1918:

"From: A. ———.

"To: Captain ———.

"Subject: Report of outrage upon soldier.

"1. Information being received that Miss Minnie Ryder, a hair-dresser at 1328 Fairfax Street, is telling a story that she went to visit a friend, wounded soldier at the ——— Hospital, who had his hands cut off and his tongue cut out.

"2. It being desired that Miss Ryder be interviewed and the name of soldier and full details of the matter be obtained, your agent acting upon your instructions has made the investigation of the case and respectfully submits the following:

"3. Miss Minnie Ryder, 1328 Fairfax Street, stated that she

has never visited the hospital in question; has no friends or acquaintances there; has never made any remarks regarding the subject, but has heard of the case through a friend, Mrs. Frederick Palmer.

"4. Mrs. Alberta Palmer, 1435 Harkness Street, stated that she had made several visits to the hospital in question but has never heard of the case from any one connected with said hospital, but she has been told of such a case by her sister-in-law, a Mrs. Harry O. Harbor, also from members of the Red Cross Chapter of ——— Church.

"5. Mrs. Harry O. Harbor, 3149 Kingston Street, stated that she has made several visits to the hospital, she being interested in Red Cross work; she has never heard of the case through any one at said hospital, but has been told of the subject by a Miss Genevieve Rooney, who rooms at her residence. The case was later the subject of a conversation she had with some members of the Red Cross Chapter of the ——— Church—she could not recall the names of members—and later by some negro woman who stated that she had also heard of the case.

"6. Miss Genevieve Rooney, 3149 Kingston Street, stated that she had heard of the case through a Mrs. W. O. McClaffin.

"7. Mrs. W. O. McClaffin, clerk in ———, stated that she was told of the case by a Mrs. C. E. Grey.

"8. Mrs. C. E. Grey, 408 Brighton Street, stated that she was told of the case by a Mr. Elmer Fraider, who has a room in her residence.

"9. Mr. Elmer Fraider, 408 Brighton Street, stated that he was told of the case by a Mr. W. W. James, who is employed in the trench; that Mr. James was out of town at this time, but that he told him that he had heard of the case through a Miss E. A. Sullivan.

"10. Miss E. A. Sullivan, 1236 Superior Street, stated that she heard of the case through a trained nurse, Mrs. Oneida Carter, who shares the same apartment as she.

"11. Mrs. Oneida Carter, 1236 Superior Street, stated that she was told of the case by a Mrs. Wm. F. Cameron, of Apartment No. 1, 1236 Superior Street.

"12. Mrs. Wm. F. Cameron, 1236 Superior Street, stated that she was told of the case by her husband.

"13. Mr. Wm. F. Cameron, 1236 Superior Street, stated that he had read of the case in the ——— *Times* about two or three months ago; that he could not remember the exact date; that since reading of the case he had visited the ——— Hospital and while there made inquiry of some doctor at said hospital and was told 'There was nothing to it.'

"14. Agent has heard of the case through others not mentioned herein and is continuing investigation and will make further report."

The above is perhaps a unique instance of a determined pursuit of a rumor to its origin. It failed completely.

No one seems to know who starts these stories. But the guilt of those who pass them along is all the greater, seeing that a little investigation will ordinarily disprove them. To be both credulous and garrulous in matters of such moment is an offense against the country.

A new and laudable movement is seen in an organization by the suffrage leaders in New York. They are forming women police reserves who are to go from house to house helping to educate the people and counteract German propaganda.

PROPAGANDA BY ATTACKS ON MORALS.

Of this ugly warfare, a prominent official has said:

"We ascertained that in certain sections of the country reports had been circulated concerning the morality of the French people, particularly the people whose homes are in the vicinity of American overseas camps. The French women were painted as moral lepers, and the men as little better. The German agents whispered these lies in various parts of the country with the result that thousands of good American fathers and mothers became uneasy as to the moral safety of their soldier sons in France. The Germans followed these stories with others to the effect that the morale and health of the American troops under General Pershing had been destroyed as a result of the ravages of disease. A more devilish libel was never perpetrated, and this is proved by the facts in possession of the Government."

This last statement flatters the Germans, and robs numerous American slanderers of their due. It is a melancholy fact that a branch organization of one of the leading American Protestant churches encouraged its lecturers to promulgate, and issued publications promulgating, stories to the effect that vice was rampant in the ranks of our soldiers in France, and that conditions of drunkenness were general. In the stories which this organization put out, American fathers and mothers were told that their sons were being debauched in France. The matter was printed, and was so grotesque in its character that belief in it was seemingly impossible by any person of mental balance, but that it would work harm among the unthinking was manifest.

This matter was taken up with the military authorities in France and with certain authorities in the United States. The Chaplains, irrespective of denomination, serving the troops in France, collectively denied the stories of vice and drunkenness, and General Pershing in an official communication to the War Department, entered specific denial on his own behalf.

THE ATTACK ON RED CROSS NURSES.

Peculiarly loathsome has been the effort to discredit the Red Cross and its splendid women. This reached such proportions that it was taken up in the courts of New York. The account in the *Times* of May 10, 1918, discloses various phases of it:

"The Federal Grand Jury for the Southern District of New York handed a presentment to Judge Augustus N. Hand on May 9, 1918, regarding the source of truthfulness of certain stories which have been circulated in this country, 'to the effect,' as the presentment put it, 'that frightful and scandalous conditions attend the Red Cross nurses in the American Army Hospitals in France.'

"These vicious reports are believed to be a part of the widespread German 'whispering' propaganda, the purpose being to create dissension among the people in America, as well as to frighten the women so that they will not enter the overseas nursing service.

"The Grand Jury investigation was undertaken by order of the Government for the two-fold purpose of identifying, if possible, the source of the propaganda, and to make the falsity and viciousness of the report a matter of court record. The Grand Jury, the foreman of which is W. DeS. Trenholm, investigated various stories which have been widely repeated, not only in New York but all over the country, and cites in its presentment as typical one 'reported to have been made at Vassar College by Dr. Emma B. Culbertson, senior surgeon of the New England College for Women and Children at Boston.'

"In substance this story, the Grand Jury says, was as follows: It was a matter of common knowledge that 200 beds had been reserved in the Sloane Maternity Hospital, New York City, for Red Cross nurses who were returning from France and expecting immediate confinement.

"This statement, the presentment claimed, was called to the attention of this Grand Jury on the ground that if the statements were true, the failure of the military authorities properly to safeguard the nurses in the service of the United States Army abroad, would constitute gross neglect, and accordingly it would be the duty of the Grand Jury to call upon the proper authorities to take the requisite and necessary steps to correct such evil conditions, etc.

"The investigation of the report, the Grand Jury adds, shows, 'that the said Dr. Emma B. Culbertson on January 17, 1918, publicly made a statement at Vassar College, Poughkeepsie, N. Y., in substance and effect that it was a matter of common knowledge that 200 beds in the Sloane Maternity Hospital, New York City, had been reserved for Red Cross Nurses who were returning from France and expecting immediate confinement, which statement was absolutely disproved by the authorities of that hospital; that said Emma B. Culbertson had absolutely no knowledge or information upon which to base said statement, and that said statement was wholly and entirely without foundation, and does further present that no Red Cross nurse has returned to this country from foreign service in such condition.

"The Grand Jury further present that the said Emma B. Culbertson herself now believes that she has been misinformed as to the matters contained in the statement made by her and regrets that she has been a party to the dissemination of a false statement.

"The Grand Jury further present that the said Emma B. Culbertson did not wilfully make said statement with the intent to interfere with the operation and success of the military and naval forces of the United States, or to obstruct the American Red Cross in the recruiting or enlistment of nurses in the service of the United States.'

"Another story, which is also German propaganda, involved the mutilation and outraging of two young Belgian women. This was also found to be false from beginning to end.

"The Grand Jury,' the presentment concludes, 'further presents that it deplores the tendency shown by the public in general to give ready ear to and repeat stories and reports of a sensational and scandalous nature and character affecting the American Red Cross and its nurses, for the reason that such stories and reports not only seriously interfere with the recruiting of nurses for service abroad, but also have a tendency to create public distrust in the American Red Cross, and are detrimental to the army activities it is carrying on to alleviate the unspeakable condition due to the war.'

"After the presentment was filed, Judge Hand addressed the jury and made it plain that the time had come to handle in most drastic fashion persons who circulate such stories as those investigated by the jury. A person who repeats such stories, without investigating to ascertain the truth or falsity of them, Judge Hand added, should be held as making them wilfully and knowingly. After a reference to the remarks Miss Culbertson is alleged to have made at Vassar, Judge Hand continued:

"This statement, your presentment shows, or statements that are equivalent to it, have been circulated in various cities and towns throughout the United States; it indicates on its face some deliberate propaganda from some malevolent source that is inimical to our institutions.

"The Espionage Act covers exactly this sort of thing unless it is innocent. If it is wilful and knowing, the Espionage Act covers it, and a jury or Grand Jury is justified, in the absence of anything else, in inferring knowledge and wilfulness from lack of foundation and recklessness in the statements themselves.

"You have investigated this particular statement: I know the substantial and representative body of men that you are from this community, and I am not in any way suggesting that your presentment in regard to this particular matter and this particular physician is not correct. I am confident that you have satisfied yourselves that she did make this statement at Vassar College in good faith, but in future matters which come to your attention, I will remind you that where the statement is utterly reckless, and proves to be utterly without foundation, in the absence of any adequate explanation on the part of the person making the statement, it would be justifiable to find that it was wilful and knowing. A statement like this, which after investigation you have found to be utterly without foundation; which after the reports and testimony of representatives of the Sloane Hospital, you have found had not a scintilla of evidence back of it, is a thing to be deprecated and severely censured by the court.

"That a person should come to a place which is a seminary, a college for the education of young women who are eager, many of them to go abroad to act as nurses for the Red Cross, and circulate such a harebrained statement as this in the presence of these young women, that would alarm the authorities of the college, that would discourage their enlistment as nurses, is a most reprehensible and disgraceful thing.

"The American people have been very tolerant in these matters, and I think it is greatly to their credit that they have, but

the time has certainly come when people who utter falsehoods, make statements without the slightest foundation which they have picked up on the curbstone in the street and then give them out in some public place, not knowing whether they are true or not, and choosing to believe them or give them out either for notoriety or for some reason which we cannot fathom, the time has certainly come when those people are going to be held responsible by juries in our courts of law.

"The juries have been tolerant in the past because they did not want to believe evil of any one—but undoubtedly statements of this kind emanate from some source which is engaged in a deliberate and unfriendly propaganda, and it is certainly proper for the court to say here that the people in this community and every other community ought to take warning and to remember that when men in this country are sacrificing their lives; when women are going to the front to act as nurses; when mothers are parting with their sons and wives with their husbands; when, as I saw up in Vermont the other day at a little college that I attended, about two-thirds of the senior class who were already engaged in military service, the least people can do who attempt to speak about matters relating to this war is to pay some kind of attention to the facts and to know what they are talking about, and not make statements and criticisms and spread wild rumors that are utterly unfounded in a perfectly irresponsible way. If they do it in the future they may expect indictments and they may expect trials, and they may be pretty certain of conviction."

PROPAGANDA CONCERNING CAMP CONDITIONS.

A typical case of malicious rumor with manifest purpose is this:

A man who registered at a Washington hotel in March, 1918, from Pittsburgh, told several persons that his son had written him saying that the men in Camp Lee, at Petersburg, Va., were mutinous on account of conditions, lack of uniforms, rifles, etc. He mentioned the 319th and 320th regiments as actually ready to revolt.

This story, with its circumstantial mention of names and regiments, made a natural stir. It reached the ears of an army officer, who made an investigation. The Commanding Officer of the division replied that there were no such regiments at the camp, and no lack of equipment.

"THE ONE HUNDRED AND ONE LIES."

Swarms of lies have buzzed about the country to encourage opposition to the draft, distress the families of soldiers and convince the public of the inability of the United States to raise an army, to transport it across the ocean, to equip it or to protect it from evil. From a booklet with the above title a few more may be quoted:

"'You have met him, Mr. Commercial Traveler,' says a booklet of the Committee on Public Information, 'and so have you, Mr. and Mrs. Civilian.

"'Who? The "clacker," the "gossip," the "inside information chap," the "Kaiserite" or whatever you choose to call the person who spread wild rumors and tales which are effective pro-German propaganda.

"'Therefore the book of "one hundred and one lies," and the book might have contained "one thousand and one" if that were necessary. For the stories encountered and "run down" as false are as numerous and fanciful as those of the Arabian Nights.

"'The itemized lies were "nailed" by actual investigation by representatives of the St. Louis *Republic*. They were printed by the Committee on Public Information with their refutation, for the use of commercial travelers, because smoking cars and Pullman cars have been favorite stamping grounds for the Kaiser's agents or those who unwittingly pass along the stories that originally were whispered by a German worker.

"'Some are absurd, like "Lie No. 1," which is that Joseph P. Tumulty, secretary to the President, was found guilty of treason and sent to Fort Leavenworth, for intelligent folks can ascertain that Mr. Tumulty still is meeting all callers at the White House.

"'Others are of the sort that skeptics and cynics are apt to seize upon, and the refutation cannot be made so obvious. Such are "lies Nos. 2 and 4," which state that sweaters knit for soldiers in France have been sold by Red Cross workers and that tobacco collected through various agencies as gifts to men overseas has been sold to them instead. Nothing handled by the Red Cross is sold, and the agencies which collected tobacco funds have traced the tobacco to France and ascertained that it was given away, as intended.

"'Here are a few other "lies," some of which could only gain circulation among the credulous in backwoods communities and others which have been whispered in Washington:

"' "That no soldier or sailor, after he leaves American soil, is permitted to write home.

"' "That Base Hospital Unit (Washington University) No. 21 had been annihilated while en route overseas, or that leading members of the organization had been executed as spies by the American government.

"' "That canned goods put up by housewives were to be seized by the Government and appropriated for the use of the Army and Navy.

"' "That the Pullman Company will not hire a man who does not wear a button showing he has contributed to the Y. M. C. A. war fund.

"' "That all the 'plums' at the officers' training camps fall to Roman Catholics."

"' "This one is familiar but has a new dress this time:

"' "That a mother sent her son at a training camp a big birthday cake and then wrote asking him how he liked it. He replied that he had never seen the cake, but that he had passed an officer's tent and had seen him eating it.

"' "The sweater story about the \$10 bill sewed into its fabric which the pro-Germans say the Red Cross sold has appeared this time in Jefferson City. Man told Missouri council of defense of the lie."

"'And there are many more of the same sort, ranging from

one circulated in the West that 10,000 Englishmen are in Colorado waiting until Uncle Sam sends all his soldiers and equipment to France, when they will seize the United States and annex it to Great Britain, to the rumor, also spread in the Middle West, that the Government will confiscate all the money deposited in national banks.'"

THE Y. M. C. A.

It was discovered that some accredited representatives of the Y. M. C. A. who were serving abroad almost within the field of operations, were doing what they could to dampen the ardor of the American troops by preaching to them a species of pacifism which, if it were effective, would destroy the morale of our soldiers. The vast majority of the representatives of this great beneficent institution were loyal, but the few who were preaching their particular pacifist doctrines unquestionably were injuring the cause of their country.

It was desired that the matter should be handled so as to avoid extreme publicity or scandal in any form. The course was adopted of taking the matter up with the heads of the institution, putting the facts of the case before them with the names of the accused and presenting therewith convincing proofs of the truth of the charges. The officials of the organization at once removed from their positions the disloyal ones and instituted a new system by which no one can enter the service of the organization until his loyalty to his country and to his organization definitely is proven.

This matter, which was a serious one, proves that there is no group so patriotic or so honorable in its objects or the body of its membership as to be beyond the reach of propaganda. There is none which can safely be omitted from observation.

PROPAGANDA FOR AN IMPERFECT PEACE.

The policies and past activities of the nation have suffered misrepresentation in every phase. Propaganda is also constantly at work to shape our future policies, and to incline the country to accept a makeshift peace not worth the price already paid for it.

A consideration of this method of attack with the citation of a well masked instance of it, is given by Jerome Landfield in the San Francisco *Bulletin* of March 30, 1918:

"With the declaration of war by America, German propaganda did not cease here; it only became more cautious. Perhaps it is all the more dangerous on that account, for its earlier character was so bold and rough as to nullify some of its ef-

fects, whereas the present propaganda is far more insidious. The ——— editorials, for example, were far less noxious when they came out boldly for Germany than when they conceal the venom of an attack on England beneath a veneer of florid patriotic utterance.

"There is no greater danger today than the widely spread idea that somehow or other we can get out of the war as soon as Germany meets our particular terms and satisfies the immediate demands in regard to our maritime rights, the violation of which was the immediate occasion of our coming into the war. It is along this line that Germany's agents in this country work.

"We know that German agents in our airplane factories have hollowed out steel braces and filled them with lead, so that they would break during a flight and kill our aviators. Many a brave young American has already fallen to his death as a result of these dastardly outrages. But even this is a trifle compared with the damage wrought by those other agents who are spreading propaganda poison throughout the country.

"I have just been reading a pamphlet in which a lot of this noxious material is well concealed behind an apparently harmless and reasonable exterior. It is entitled 'Business Conditions' and purports to be 'The Monthly Letter of the Alexander Hamilton Institute.' Let me quote a few sentences from it:

"'President Wilson has also abandoned his demands for no annexation and the self-determination of governments by peoples. This was necessary to harmonize our aims in the war with those of France, Italy, and Great Britain. France desires to annex Alsace-Lorraine, and Italy demands part of Austria. Great Britain and her colonies, who are assuming large responsibilities in the war, desire that Germany be restricted in her operations in Arabia and Africa. If President Wilson had insisted that France and Italy fight without expecting to annex territory, it would have left them nothing to fight for; and since it is important that all the Allies should co-operate until victory is won, our Government has approved the annexation of territory by the Allies.'

"It hardly seems necessary to comment on this vile dose of poison, the purport is so self-evident. To speak of the restoration of Alsace-Lorraine to France or the union of the Italian Trentino and Trieste to Italy as annexation in the sense in which that word was used by President Wilson is to endeavor to mislead deliberately and maliciously. The whole idea of the vicious paragraph is, of course, to convey the idea that our Allies are in the war for purely selfish and sordid motives and that they are on the same plane as Germany.

"The pamphlet then goes on to say:

"'The chief aim of the United States in the war is to put a stop forever to Germany's methods of submarine warfare. The people of the United States are in the war mainly for this purpose. * * * Whether territory is annexed or whether all races are permitted to determine their own government are matters of secondary importance. * * * The country will approve the action of the President in compromising some of his subordinate demands if this shall avoid friction among the Allies, hasten the beginning of peace negotiations, and prevent unnecessary bloodshed. Let us always keep in mind that our chief aim in the war is to establish humane methods in warfare and just principles of international law.'

A better statement of the attitude of the Allies toward Germany could not be better made than the following editorial from the *Washington Star* of June 26, 1918:

"Dr. von Kuehlmann, the German foreign secretary, stated the case with remarkable precision and clearness in the Reichstag Monday when he said:

"For so long as every overture is regarded by others as a peace offensive—as a trap or as something false for the purpose of sowing disunion between allies; so long as every attempt of a rapprochement is at once violently denounced by the enemies of a rapprochement in the various countries, so long will it be impossible to see how any exchange of ideas leading to peace can be begun."

"Really some progress has been made toward understanding if the German spokesman has reached the point of appreciating that the allies look with incredulity upon German talk of peace, with suspicion upon German suggestions of terms, with positive distrust upon German pretensions of desire to arrange amicably for the end of the war.

"Dr. Kuehlmann urges that one of the preliminary conditions of the real peace approach 'must be certain degrees of mutual confidence in each other's honesty and chivalry.' Let it be accepted as a basic fact in this present deadlock of war that none of the entente powers today has the least confidence in Germany's 'honesty and chivalry.' If peace cannot come until the allied powers approach the table of conference with trust in those qualities on the part of Germany the war must go on and on.

"Germany has forfeited all claims to confidence and trust. Violating every canon of decency, every law of international relationship, every rule of war, Germany today stands exposed in a hideous nakedness of dishonor. No form of words, no belated show of repentance or reform can win condonement by the allies.

"If hope persists at Berlin that England, France, Italy and the United States can be cajoled or wearied into peace maneuvers on the basis of agreement with Germany as a power of equal negotiations, the amazing self-delusion that has beset Germany from the beginning still prevails, a delusion that has cost the world the greatest penalty it has ever paid, a penalty that will have been a wicked waste if it does not lead to permanent protection from an evil power seeking dominion by force."

Commenting on the same speech the *Daily Chronicle* of London said:

"Nothing that the Allies could pretend, no self-deception in which they might be led to acquiesce, could render the present German Government 'capable of covenanted faith,' while its hands are foul with the pollution of hundreds of perfidies and dripping with the blood of millions shed in an unprovoked, and as yet unrepented, war.

"The *Daily News* says that Kuehlmann, in laying down the condition which excludes Alsace-Lorraine from discussion, rejects the condition which is the irreducible minimum of the British case, 'but,' it adds, 'we have to discount heavily the terms put forward in the open. It is something to have reached a stage at which Germany admits that no military decision can settle the war. That is the beginning of the will to peace.'"

CHAPTER VII.

THE ESPIONAGE ACT.

The Department of Justice has issued a series of bulletins called "Interpretations of War Statutes." These mainly contain the charges to juries by judges of the United States District Courts. A study of them shows the difficulty faced by the judges in persuading themselves or the juries that propaganda was punishable under the terms of the Espionage Act of June 15, 1917.

Without financial backing the war could not go on. Funds must be raised some way. The hostile spirits would have, of course, attacked any available method of funding the war. They naturally turned all their guns on the method adopted.

A number of men of high position used all their powers of eloquence or obstruction to prevent or to discredit the sale of bonds. Later, they and their less conspicuous disciples did their best to make the sale a failure. The favorite charge, of course, was the old cry of "Wall Street." Everything about the war has been labeled "Wall Street" by the enemies of its success.

The opponents of the Liberty Loans and the War Savings Stamps have been harshly dealt with in many neighborhoods, numerous individuals being tarred and feathered, painted yellow, horse-whipped and compelled to purchase what they derided.

The Department of Justice Bulletin No. 56 contains the charge to the jury on February 1, 1918, of the U. S. District Court, District of Colorado, in the case of one W. B. Tanner. Tanner, it was charged, did, in November, 1917, at Sterling, Colo., under Section 3, Title 1, of the Espionage Act, "feloniously and wilfully attempt to cause disloyalty, insubordination, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the U. S., to the injury of the U. S.," and in the presence of various persons had stated in substance: "There is no security behind the Liberty Bonds. The conservation of food is all bosh. As soon as the capitalists on Wall Street have all the money they want this war will be over in 24 hours." Also he stated before other witnesses: "The Liberty Bonds will only be worth 50 cents on the dollar within two years. The first thing we ought to do after Congress meets is to impeach that Wilson. Talk about being under the Kaiser. Well, it is a whole lot worse over here in this country. England and France will be

forced to quit. The United States will have to come down off her high horse."

The Court dealt very closely with the claim that such language brought the defendant within reach of the Espionage Act:

"The defendant can not be convicted on any of these counts unless you find from the evidence, beyond a reasonable doubt, that he has committed, in the manner charged against him, the specific crime charged against him—the one defined in the statute on which the indictment is based. There is more than one element in each of these crimes. It is not sufficient to convict the defendant on any or all of these counts, to simply show that he uttered the language, the substance of which is set forth in the indictment and testified to by some of the witnesses; but before you can convict him on the first and third counts you must believe from the evidence, beyond a reasonable doubt, that in the uttering of that language on the occasion in question he willfully caused or attempted to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States to the injury of the United States. Likewise on the second and fourth counts. He can not be convicted on either of these counts by simply showing that he uttered the language charged against him or the substance of that language on the two occasions in question; but you must further find and believe from the evidence, beyond a reasonable doubt, that in the utterance of that language he did willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service or of the United States. That is to say, howsoever reprehensible a criticism of the war and the methods of carrying it on may be, that criticism is not a violation of this statute unless, on the one hand, it is made in an attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States; or unless, on the other hand, its utterance obstructs the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States to the injury of that service."

Bulletin 58 contains a similar charge by the U. S. District Court for the District of Wyoming in the case against one William Hahn, who made a large number of very familiar remarks to the effect that—

"the American people should not believe anything contained in the newspapers published in English in the United States; that the said newspapers were full of lies about the war and about Germany; that the only true facts published in newspapers of this country were in the newspapers published in the German language; that President Wilson had been in favor of the Allies ever since the war commenced in 1914; that President Wilson had been paid huge sums of money for aiding the Allies; that President Wilson had gone into the war for a huge sum of money; that the people of the United States were not fighting this war for their own country, but for the millionaires and the rich people; that President Wilson had never intended to have any war with Mexico or to use any troops in this country, but that the American army had been gathered at the border

between Mexico and the United States solely for the purpose of training them to fight against Germany; that the United States, even with the aid of all the European countries, could never defeat the German army; that Germany is right in its contentions and that the United States is wrong; that the United States has no right to send troops to Europe; that draft riots will occur; that if he were a young man he would cut his trigger finger off before he would go to fight the Germans."

In the course of its charge this court stated:

"It is not necessary to show that the statements made actually brought about insubordination or disloyalty, but it is quite sufficient to warrant a conviction if you believe from the evidence beyond a reasonable doubt that the defendant made the statements, or any of them, in an attempt to cause insubordination or disloyalty and with the intent to bring about that result. In other words, you can only generally determine what is in a person's mind by external manifestations; and in determining the question of intent of the defendant in this case you have the right to take into consideration not only the direct evidence bearing thereon, if any, but all the facts and circumstances surrounding the defendant in this transaction, so far as they may be disclosed by the evidence, including in the case the words that the evidence shows were in fact actually used by the defendant. * * *

"The case is important to the defendant because he stands here charged with a serious offense against the United States, and if the evidence fails to convince you beyond a reasonable doubt that he is guilty he is entitled to a verdict of acquittal at your hands. On the other hand, the case is important to the Government. The United States is at war. It is organizing military forces, and it demands that those forces and each member thereof shall give obedience, loyalty, and strict performance of duty to the Government; and it can not tolerate any attempt by any one at any time or at any place to cause disloyalty, insubordination, or refusal of duty. Such attempts must be investigated by the Government; and if the investigation justifies it the party must be brought to trial, as the defendant has been brought to trial here."

In the case against Floyd Ramp, before the United States District Court in Oregon, the defendant was charged with haranging, in September, 1917, a number of men actually conscripted and, on their way to camp, with words to the effect—

"that the President boo-hooed the people into electing him on the promise to keep us out of war, and now he is worse than the Czar of Russia; that to draft men into military service was wrong, and he, the said defendant, did not believe in it; that these men * * * may think they are going to fight for the democracy, but they are not; that they * * * are fighting for the capitalistic class, such as Rockefeller; that to draft men into the army is wrong; I am opposed to it; these men" (meaning said conscripted men) "don't know what they are doing; that if you knew" (speaking to the men) "what you are fighting for you would not fight; that you" (meaning the men)

"are going because you are forced to by your masters; if you * * * took a vote on this train, two-thirds of you * * * would not vote to go; you * * * think you are fighting for true democracy, but you are not; you are fighting to swell the purses of your masters, and there is no true democracy in it."

Later he said to the same men:

"Do you boys * * * know that you are fighting for the capitalists? * * * Better have a pick and shovel laboring for the working men instead of carrying a gun for the capitalists; I won't fight for the capitalists. Are there any I. W. W.'s in this crowd? If so, come out, because you are not fighting for the poor man; you are fighting for the rich man. I have a lot to talk to you about, but you won't let me talk."

In this case the Court, after showing the abridgment of the rights of free speech necessary during war, took up the question of wilful intent and permitted evidence concerning the defendant's previous activities to be introduced, saying:

"As bearing further upon this subject of intent I have permitted evidence to go to you intending to show the defendant's conduct and speech at other times and places previous to the occurrence of the events out of which the charges against him have arisen. I refer to his deportment at the meeting of the Honor Guard girls and at other patriotic meetings in Roseburg, his action in distributing leaflets in the restaurant, and his conversations with different persons, all with a view to discovering light respecting his bent of mind and his attitude toward the maintaining of military forces in the United States. He avows frankly his fervid attachment to the Socialist Party, with all that that term implies, and shows his utter opposition to all war, and you may look into the whole of his testimony, along with his acts and conduct then and here, for ascertaining the attitude or bent of his mind, so that you may be able to say finally what his true intent and purpose were in uttering the language attributed to him by the indictment. If he uttered the language or a substantial part of it, as alleged, and intended thereby or attempted willfully to incite or cause to be put in operation the vices enumerated by the statute in the military forces of the United States or any of them, in any degree, he would be guilty; otherwise not."

The influence of agitation against the war is vividly pictured in the charge of Judge Wade in the Southern District of Iowa, in the case against Daniel H. Wallace (Bulletin No. 4):

"The right of freedom of speech is so sacred and had been so much abused in the bitter days before the establishment of this Government that in the fundamental law they protected the right of free speech; but no constitution, no law, no congress and no legislature ever said that a man could say anything that he wanted to and not be responsible for what he said. The man who calls you a thief and the man who assaults your wife's virtue in

the streets is exercising his right of free speech under the Constitution, but you can compel him in court to respond in damages for this invasion of your rights. The man who publishes in the newspaper, under the freedom of the press, a base libel against you or your family is exercising his right under the Constitution, but he can be haled into court and be compelled to pay his last penny for the wrong he has done you, and he can be indicted by the grand jury of the proper jurisdiction and be sent to prison for the publication of it. We ought not to have any misconception about this matter of the right of free speech. Men have the right to speak, no matter how bad it is, but they are responsible to the law for the consequences if they have invaded a man's right or violated the law defining a crime. And so, as to this case, there is testimony offered here to show that this man made a speech some 150 times. Up to June 15 this year, whether we consider this speech as violating every rule of decency, or whether we consider it entirely proper, there was no power under the law of the United States to punish him. Up to that time he had the right of freedom of speech—he has it yet—he had it here that night. He is not being tried here for violating any law with relation to the freedom of speech except with reference to this one specific thing. Before this law was approved, June 15, 1917, there wasn't any law under which this man (outside of possible suits for injuries, if any person was injured—if he was sued for slander) could be indicted for what he said; but on June 15 a new law was passed, absolutely new to this generation at least, and, so far as I know, new in the history of the country. Why? Because this country had reached the most tragic time in the history of the nation. Because we had, by a vote of the proper constitutional authority—the Congress of the United States—announced the existence of a state of war with Germany. From that moment Germany was our enemy. It don't make any difference whether she was virtuous or vicious, she will be our enemy until this war is over, and the American people naturally must treat her as an enemy.

"Now, the fortunes, or the fates, compelled us—at least it was so recognized by the proper authorities—and I am speaking about matters of common knowledge of which you have a right to take notice—has placed us side by side in this conflict with England, France and Italy, with whom we are from force of circumstances, as we view it at the present time at least, compelled to co-operate in this conflict. I want you to get the background at the time this speech was made, and I want you to consider the circumstances under which it was made. I want you to consider the real elemental problems that the American people had at that hour and have yet. Now, Congress felt that in order that we might prosecute this war properly and with honor that there must be some law protecting, or rather prohibiting, anyone who for any reason or motive, no matter what, whether it be for real injuries he received at the hands of those people, no matter what, prohibiting every man from in any manner attempting to weaken the thing, the forces which the Government has to rely upon in this war. It is evident, of course, that that first means men, then money, and then care of the men; and you have a right to take notice of the fact that in the organization of the Army, in the raising of the money and in the care of the men, because these are all matters of common knowledge, that certain organizations were used, utilized and relied upon, including the Y. M. C. A. and the Red Cross. We had to have men; we had to have

money; and to get men and money we had to have the proper spirit.

"Well, Congress decided that they would try to prohibit the invasion of the right to these things by certain laws, and among other things it prohibited two things—things which Congress said constituted a crime. It did not say, You shall not speak; but it did say, If you do speak with a certain purpose and in language which would naturally be effective for carrying out that purpose, you shall be punished. In other words, it placed upon every citizen in the United States, whether he be a citizen of the United States or of some other country, the duty of sacrificing for the time being his right to free speech or else suffer the consequences. And so, Congress passed a law that 'whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States' shall be punished. Now, it doesn't say that it must be by speech, but it may be by word or act or print, or in any other way. That provision of that law is involved in this case. And Congress further enacted that 'whoever shall wilfully obstruct the enlistment or recruiting service of the United States to the injury of the United States' shall be punished. Now, that law isn't very difficult to understand.

"This indictment here in the first count is based upon an alleged violation of the restriction I have read first to you, and the second count upon the restriction I read second. So, that I say, as I said when I started out, the simple question in this case is What did this man say down there that night? And why did he say it? Now, experience in life teaches us that ordinarily when men do things knowingly, deliberately, there is some purpose. Now, the purpose and the intent become a material matter in this case, and to judge of the purpose and intent, which are largely a matter of mind and heart, you have got to be guided pretty largely by a man's acts in this world. You have got to look down into the heart and see what a man has there. It isn't always safe to let him determine by his statement what his intentions were. The law does permit him to go upon the stand and tell what his intentions were, but the jury is not bound by that absolutely. You have a right to consider it, give it the proper weight, together with all the other evidence, and determine what his intention was and what was his purpose. So, now, when you come to the real thing that is in this case, you judge this man by his acts and conduct at that time and his acts and conduct as you have seen it here. Now, what did he say? You have heard the testimony of some seven or eight witnesses for the Government, and heard the testimony of the defendant and another witness. You have to weigh the evidence of these witnesses and determine what was said.

"Of course, I am not going through the claims made by the Government as to the particular things that they claim he said, but I will illustrate by one or two. Did he say, now, there that night that when a soldier went away he was a hero and that when he came back flirting with a hand organ he was a bum, and that the asylums will be filled with them? Did he say that or not? You have got to say that. If I express an opinion of any facts here in this case, I don't want you to consider that opinion; I don't intend to, but in the discussion sometimes of the evidence, it might appear to you that I was expressing an opinion.

I am not trying to. Did he say it? Suppose, now, you say, 'Yes, he said that'; then the real question is, 'Why?' What was his purpose? Judge that from all of the facts and circumstances under which he was speaking. These facts and circumstances are not in dispute except in matters of detail. There is no dispute that at that time there was a battery here of United States soldiers, either actually enlisted or ready for enlistment; there is no dispute but what a Government officer of the United States was here with headquarters for enlistment; there is no question at all that the only way they can get men in the army is by volunteers and by conscription; and in this connection you have a right to go right down into human nature and what you know about it. You have a right to consider in so far as you know from human experience what a hard thing it is for parents to sometimes give up their boy to the service of the Government in war, and how far, if at all, statements of that kind, if they were made, would reach down into the heart of a father or mother or boy and have a tendency to take the courage out of them; how, if at all, it would have that effect; or how far, if at all, it would have some other effect. You have a right to take those things into consideration. Take not one single statement here, but all the statements; take not only what the Government says that this man said, but take what he says he said himself, and determine what he meant; what was his purpose and intent. For instance, as I recall the testimony—but you are to determine that question—he said this is a capitalist war. If so, what was his purpose? As I recall, he testified that he said soldiers were giving their lives for the capitalists, that 40 per cent of the ammunition of the allies or their guns was defective because of graft. If so, what was his purpose? What purpose does he explain himself? Give his explanation all the weight it is entitled to under all the circumstances. You are to determine the question, whether he was trying to restrain enlistment as charged, or words to that effect; or whether he was trying to restrain them from enlisting in the English Army. Take his explanation and determine what his purpose was, take the circumstances under which he said it, surrounding it and all that he said.

"And so, I have used these few statements simply to illustrate the processes of the mind by which you must arrive at what the defendant did in this case. Now, if he said things, as claimed by the Government, which from their very nature the result would have upon the human mind a tendency to cause insubordination, disloyalty, or mutiny, or refusal of duty, if that was the real natural consequence that would follow from a speech of that kind, and if he intended it to have that effect, he is guilty on this first count. And that is true, even though it did not have that effect. The Government does not have to prove that somebody somewhere did violate some rule or regulation, because the statute is plain: 'Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall wilfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny or refusal of duty in the military or naval forces of the United States' shall be punished. If he 'attempts' it.

"Now, if you find that he did those things in the manner indicated, under the law you have got to say he is guilty.

"It isn't of course now a question of whether he said all of these things just as the Government says he did, but it is the question of whether he said any of them, the natural consequence of which would be that it would obstruct the recruiting and

enlistment service of the United States. The Government doesn't have to go out and find a particular individual that was restrained from entering the service of the United States because of his speech; it is sufficient if it has proven that he uttered words there, the natural and probable consequence of which upon the public mind would obstruct recruiting or enlistment, with an intention that it should do so. The Government must prove that though by a preponderance of the evidence; otherwise he can't be convicted upon the second count.

"So you see, after all, it gets down to a very narrow question, comparatively narrow. Did he say these things, or any of them, with the purpose charged by the Government in this indictment, as I have explained to you, or didn't he? And was the language that you find he used, was that language such as under the circumstances under which it was used, taking all of his speech together, would naturally and probably do the things charged by the Government? What would be the natural consequence of what he did? Would it either, under the first count, cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, or under the second count, obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service?

"Now, that is about all the help I can give you gentlemen. Of course, it is necessary in the administration of law, in the application of law to the complex affairs of human life, to proceed upon the theory that men ordinarily intend the natural consequence of their acts. That presumption is not conclusive, but it is the ordinary thing, that men, ordinary men, do intend to do the thing that their acts would indicate, and their purpose can usually be judged from their acts, but that has got to be taken into consideration under all their acts, surroundings, and conduct in order to try to arrive at the solution of this problem which compels a jury to go down into the hearts of men to find out what was there."

The defendant Wallace was found guilty and sentenced to twenty years in the penitentiary.

The distribution of pamphlets contrary to the Espionage Act is taken up in Bulletin No. 71, in the charge to the jury in the case against G. A. Gneiser, Paul Bosco, et al., for distributing a pamphlet called "The Price We Pay," in West Virginia:

"The fourth count charges that Paul Bosco did, after the 15th day of June, 1917, unlawfully and feloniously willfully make and convey a certain false report and false statement with intent to interfere with the operation and success of the military and naval forces of the United States, and which false report and false statement aforesaid was then and there known by the said Paul Bosco to be false and which said report and statement was to the effect that the war in which the United States was then engaged with the said Imperial German Government was a war brought on by and in behalf of the capitalists and capitalistic system of the United States and in their interest and against the influence and voice of the majority of the people of the United States, which said report and statement aforesaid was false and known by the said Paul Bosco to be false, and was circulated by him both verbally and

by means of certain written circulars and pamphlets, the exact and complete contents whereof is to the grand jurors unknown, and by him intended to cause and attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, and refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States and to unlawfully obstruct the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the said service of the said United States.

"And it is further charged that the said G. A. Gneiser 'did unlawfully and feloniously aid, counsel, and abet the said Paul Bosco in making and conveying the said false report and statement aforesaid with the intent and purpose and in the manner in all respects as hereinbefore in this count set out.' And in support of this there has been introduced and especially dwelt upon a circular, entitled 'The Price We Pay,' and a petition which it is admitted by the defendant himself he circulated and secured subscriptions to a fund the purpose of which it is alleged was for the purpose of purchasing and circulating literature as expressed in that petition.

"Now you are to determine the following: First, whether these reports and statements were false. Second, that they were known to be false by Bosco and that they were made and circulated by him for the purpose of interfering with the recruiting and enlistment service of the United States and to create insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty in the military and naval forces of the United States. Third, whether the defendant, G. A. Gneiser, aided, abetted, and counseled him, the said Bosco, in the circulation of such false statements and reports.

"And if the evidence convinces you beyond a reasonable doubt that Gneiser did so aid, counsel, and abet the said Paul Bosco in circulating such false circulars, statements, and reports, then it will be your duty to find him guilty under this fourth count. If not, then it will be your duty to find him not guilty thereon."

In this case Gneiser was found not guilty; Bosco was found guilty and sentenced to ten years in the penitentiary.

This same pamphlet, "The Price We Pay," is taken up in *Bulletins* 15 and 52, and the problems of what constitutes conspiracy and wilful obstruction carefully analyzed.

CHAPTER VIII.

LEGAL RECOGNITION OF PROPAGANDA AS A CRIME.

The study of all of these bulletins fails to show a legal recognition of the power of hostile propaganda as such.

The word propaganda rarely occurs indeed. But it appears in its true historical significance throughout discussions in Congress in May, 1918, when a successful effort was made to revise the Espionage Act so as to meet an evil that had gone too long unchecked.

Two ways were available for overcoming the influence of propaganda: one to meet it with counter-propaganda, the other to punish its agents.

Much has been done in this country in the way of positive propaganda for expounding our aims, our wrongs, our ambitions, our achievements, but propaganda for the purposes of assassinating our enemies is an uncongenial weapon that we have done well to leave to the Germans who have mastered it so thoroughly.

The problem of punishing hostile propagandists is complex. The Espionage Act as originally passed did not seem to cover the situation and the Department of Justice asked for better statutes. The Overman Bill was prepared to meet the emergency.

THE OVERMAN BILL AND THE FRANCE AMENDMENT.

Senator France put forward an amendment which threatened for a time to nullify the bill. This amendment read: "Provided, however, That nothing in this act shall be construed as limiting the liberty or impairing the right of any individual to publish or speak what is true, with good motives and for justifiable ends."

The amendment was adversely reported by a conference committee and was defeated after a memorable debate in the Senate in the course of which so much was uttered concerning the menace of propaganda that somewhat liberal quotations from the *Congressional Record* of May 4, 1918, should be placed here, especially as their eloquence and profundity of thought mark this as one of the great encounters of theory with theory in the history of human liberty. It is impossible to quote the entire debate and only a brief citation is made from the advocate of the France amendment, whose full remarks can be found in the *Record*, but the following excerpts are both searching and pertinent as well as loftily considered and expressed.

Senator Thomas, of Colorado, said in part:

"We are told by the departments that the present statute is inefficient and practically inoperative, and that unless something of this kind is added to the espionage law it will fail to produce the consequences intended. We have had our attention called to the inefficacy of the existing section 3, not only in a general way but by way of specific instance. That statute seemed to me, at the time it was accepted by the Senate, to be sufficient for the purpose. It may be, however, that experience has demonstrated that we were wrong. I do not know. I will read it:

"Whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully make or convey false reports or false statements with intent to interfere with the operation or success of the military or naval forces of the United States or to promote the success of its enemies, and whoever, when the United States is at war, shall willfully cause or attempt to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty, in the military or naval forces of the United States, or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, to the injury of the service or of the United States, shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$10,000 or imprisonment for not more than twenty years, or both."

"Mr. President, the condition of the country, due in large part to the fact that we are not a homogeneous people and that one section, or a part of one section, of our population is avowedly disloyal and engaged in active enemy propaganda, is the only possible excuse, in my judgment, for this legislation. We should be sensible of the requirements of our institutions and constantly on guard for their protection in times of war, when, of all times, free institutions need safeguarding. There are, however, exceptions to all general rules, and this may be one of them. I am not prepared to say that it is, but I must recognize the existence of a situation that is both unique and dangerous.

"Mr. President, I have had occasion to say at a previous time that the enemy known as pan-Germanism is far more dangerous to the allied forces than the troops of the Kaiser upon the western front. I have had occasion to illustrate that statement by referring to the fate of Russia and to the terrible disaster to the Italian arms last October, and also to the seething mass of dissatisfaction which is being carefully and constantly fomented in all allied countries. Germany, now conceded to have been the aggressor in this war, aims, as Bernhardt declared she should aim back in 1911, at world dominion; and Germany has prepared herself for her attempt at world dominion by nearly a half century of careful, constant, and meticulous preparation. There is nothing of which mankind is capable, no great advance sociologically, economically, industrially, politically, or commercially which Germany has not long ago drafted into her general scheme of world dominion and military preparation therefor.

"Forty years ago pan-Germanism began its pernicious course, with the result that every German, and as far as possible every descendant of every German, in every country in the world, has been utilized or sought to be utilized in the general scheme of Germanic world conquest. The Machiavellian philosophy, so called, has, ever since the time of Frederick the Great, been the accepted scheme of German activity; and it has been improved upon by Bismarck and by the present Kaiser to a degree that

would astonish the author of that policy if he could be made aware of that development.

"I happened to be in the city of Washington a few years ago when Prince Henry of Prussia, representing his imperial brother, visited the United States. It was my good fortune to sit in yonder gallery when he was ushered into this Hall by a committee of which the then chairman of the Committee on Foreign Relations was the leader and to listen to his words of amity and good will toward the United States—a speech the earnestness and sincerity of which were at the time never doubted, and which, of course, contributed almost entirely to the cordial reception which he received, both at the hands of public functionaries and at the hands of private citizens everywhere. And yet we now know, we long since have known, that the visit of Prince Henry to this country was not for the purposes ostensibly announced, but for the purpose of clinching and making more effective that American section of pan-Germanism that owes its allegiance first to the Kaiser, and second, if any allegiance be left, to the United States of America. We know now why he visited the principal cities of the United States where German population is in the aggregate far greater than in other sections, and why his visit and its purposes have been followed up and stimulated ever since. We did not suspect it then. Indeed, one of the marvels in which posterity will indulge will be the utter indifference with which the people of other countries, without exception, permitted pan-Germanism to continue and develop, all in the interest of the Fatherland; and that wonder, Mr. President, will be perhaps more complete when the statements, which should have been warnings, made long before the war, were available to all thinking and reading people.

"Gen. Bernhardt, in his now famous work, 'Germany in the Next War,' published in 1911, referring to the Germans beyond the Empire, said:

"The further duty of supporting the Germans in foreign countries in their struggle for existence and of thus keeping them loyal to their nationality is one from which, in our indirect interests, we can not withdraw. The isolated groups of Germans abroad greatly benefit our trade, since by preference they obtain their goods from Germany; but they may also be useful to us politically, as we discover in America. The American Germans have formed a political alliance with the Irish and thus united constitute a power in the State with which the Government must reckon."

"The junior Senator from Utah (Mr. King) can speak much more intelligently and forcefully than can I regarding the activities of the German-American Alliance in the United States; and we do know that in the interval between the general declaration of war and our entry into it, the activities of certain Irishmen and of certain Germans in the great cities of the country, particularly during the last political campaign, confirm the assertion of Bernhardt almost to the letter.

"Of course, Mr. President, I must always be understood as exempting those patriotic and liberty-loving Germans and Irishmen and the descendants of Germans and of Irishmen from the general indictment of pan-Germanism; but after that exception is made there is too much of it, far too much of it, perniciously active at all times.

"These forces are constantly interfering to prevent the United States throwing its whole force into this struggle and to prevent

unity of American citizenship at home. I have not the time to refer to the many incidents, the many terrible events, crowding each upon the heels of the other since the debacle of August, 1914, began; but I do know, and every observing man in America knows, that the poison of quiet and sometimes of vociferous criticism of men and of measures, the dissemination of views regarding the operation of the draft law, the power of the Government to use its military forces outside of the jurisdiction of the United States, the spread of rumors of all sorts regarding the condition of our soldiery, the sanitary situation in their camps, and the thousand and one things which the devilish activities of a great section of our people suggest to others go farther in a country like this to diffuse and to weaken our energies than in a country like Great Britain, whose population is largely homogeneous.

"In America we have people from every section and every country on the earth, and we have been so indifferent to our own duties of citizenship as to permit them to remain segregated, to use their language and not our language, and to conduct themselves practically as foreign communities within our midst. That is the ripest soil that can be imagined for the dissemination of treasonable and semi-treasonable utterances and propaganda.

"If I understand the purpose of section 3, as presented by the conference report, it is to meet and if possible overcome that situation as far as the present legislation can overcome it, and therefore this report has been agreed upon.

"Mr. President, we do not enact laws against murder and make crimes of larceny in order to interfere with the rights but rather to protect the rights of the law-abiding, tax-paying citizens. Those laws are necessarily general. They must be comprehensive, else they would consist of class legislation and be both unjust and ineffective. So with legislation of this character; it must be made sufficiently comprehensive to include everybody—the white, the black, the rich, the poor, the Jew, the Gentile. It will probably bear, it may bear, heavily upon those who with the best of intentions express their opinions concerning government and governmental functions. It may go too far—and I am afraid it does—but I sympathize, in view of the experiences of the past year, very strongly with that condition which has prompted the Government to ask legislation of this sort.

"Mr. President, when this bill was passed by the Senate, section 3 contained the following proviso:

"That nothing in this act shall be construed as limiting the liberty or impairing the right of any individual to publish or speak what is true with good motives and for justifiable ends."

"That is an amendment which was presented, if I recollect rightly, by the junior Senator from Maryland (Mr. France), and it was accepted by the Senator having charge of the bill, in consequence of which I do not think it attracted much attention or much criticism. I remember that I favored it mentally and at the time regarded it as a beneficial addition to the section. But since it has become a pivot of active controversy I have taken occasion to look into the phraseology of it a little more closely, and my conclusion is that it should have been eliminated:

"*Provided*, That nothing in this act shall be construed as limiting the liberty or impairing the right of any individual to

publish or speak what is true with good motives and for justifiable ends.'

"Mr. President, intent is essential to the constitution of all crimes, great and small. Motive may be important as determining intent or it may not. The ideas, however, conveyed by the two words are by no means identical. A man with the best of motives may commit a serious crime and his purpose may be, in his opinion, justifiable; that is, he may act from pure motives and justifiable ends. I may be a neighbor of the Senator from South Carolina, and I may imagine that his house contains germs of some very infectious disease which unless removed may subject the members of my family to infection and to disease and death. The Senator, however, is indifferent to my appeals for fumigation and also to the apprehensions which I entertain, and since he will not act I set his house on fire. My motive is to protect my family, and that is a justifiable end; yet who will say that under such circumstances the laws of South Carolina would not reach forth and take possession of my person, imprison and try me, and convict me of the crime of arson?

"A German-American, or a man who is not a German-American but sympathizing with the Germans, may with the best of motives acquire information regarding the state of our munition factories and publish the facts to the world. His motive is perfectly good. He wants to help the cause with which he sympathizes, and the end justifies the means in his instance. He publishes these facts. Could he be convicted under a statute containing such a proviso? I doubt it very much, Mr. President. It is not necessary to multiply instances because they would occur to any thinking man by the thousand.

"Mr. OVERMAN. I should like to call attention to the charge of a judge to a jury. This is from a great Vermont judge:

"The Government's evidence tends to show that the defendant intended to cause insubordination, disloyalty and refusal of duty in the military forces of the United States; the defendant's evidence tends to show that the only intention which he had was to serve God.

"You should be careful not to mix motive with intent. Motive is that which leads to the act; intent qualifies it. A crime may be committed with a good motive; it may be committed with an evil motive; or it may be committed with a good and an evil motive. To illustrate: The father of a large family steals bread for his starving children and also to deprive the owner of its value. He has two motives; one is good and one is evil; but he is guilty, notwithstanding he has a good motive, as well as an evil motive, for he must not steal at all. So in this case the defendant's intention to serve God does not excuse him if you find that he also intended to cause insubordination, disloyalty or refusal of duty.'

"This is a concrete case. At the time of this trial if this amendment had been the law the judge could not have made the charge he did, and the jury could not have convicted, as it did, and the man would have gotten off. That is a concrete case.

"Mr. GALLINGER. The man was not released?

"Mr. OVERMAN. He was not released because there was not any amendment like this in the law. He would have been released if this amendment had been the law.

"Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, I think Senators in opposing this amendment and in opposing striking out the amendment of

the Senator from Maryland have fears in regard to the operation of the law which are quite groundless. No loyal, patriotic citizen need fear the operation of this law, because he will not utter abusive or scurrilous or contemptuous language about the form of our Government or the Army and Navy of the United States or indulge in any of the other things prohibited by the terms of the bill. No loyal, patriotic editor or publisher of a paper need fear the operations of the bill, because he, as a loyal, patriotic citizen, will not publish abusive, scurrilous or contemptuous language in regard to the form of Government or the Constitution or the Army or the Navy of the United States.

"No more, Mr. President, need such a man or such an editor fear the operation of this law than the average good moral citizen need fear the operation of a law against murder or arson or larceny or embezzlement or any other crime in the calendar of crimes, and that for the simple reason that the law, made necessary for the peace and good order of society, will not affect him. He will not violate the law, and the law is made only for the disloyal, the treasonable and the seditious.

"Treason against the United States is defined as levying war against the United States or adhering to their enemies, giving them aid and comfort, and beyond and outside the constitutional provision in regard to treason and the statutes enacted in pursuance of the constitutional provision come these acts, seditious and disloyal, which can not be prosecuted under a charge of treason because they fall just a little short of treason. And yet they do all the injury which treason itself would do. The loyal people realize this and grow impatient because there is no adequate law. There has come a demand from my own State, from every part of my State, that some such law as this shall be passed to make seditious and disloyal utterances impossible.

"Here is a class of cases that has been brought to my attention again and again. Some have arisen in my State. There are men who are at heart disloyal, who make certain utterances in derision of the Red Cross work, of subscriptions to the Liberty loan, of the cause for which we are fighting and so forth; they are absolutely disloyal. Now, in an otherwise thoroughly loyal community, what is the disposition with regard to characters of that kind? Seeing that there is no law on the statute books to punish these seditious and disloyal utterances, citizens are tempted, in order that the community may be rid of an evil of that kind, to take the law into their own hands.

"Mr. LODGE. If the Senator will allow me, the fact that there is a law on the statute books is not what prevents lynching. What prevents lynching is the public confidence that the law on the statute books will be enforced. If the law is not enforced, people lose all faith in the courts; they lose all faith in the prosecuting officers, and they take the law into their own hands. This, however, is all part of the general idea that seems to run through this war that we can fight it with language.

"Mr. KING. I desire to say to the Senator from Massachusetts (Mr. Lodge) that in my opinion the Attorney General has been doing all within his power to enforce existing statutes. I know that he has been keenly alive to the situation and has invoked the criminal statutes and all the machinery at his command to deal with disloyalists and those who have violated Federal statutes. Perhaps in some of the States the district attor-

neys, either through inexperience in dealing with this class of cases or because of their belief that the law was inadequate—and my own opinion is that in many instances it has been inadequate—to deal with existing conditions, have failed to effectively deal with all cases brought to their attention. I am satisfied, as the result of an exhaustive examination of the activities of the I. W. W. and other disloyal organizations and persons, and existing laws under which efforts to reach these organizations and individuals, that additional statutes are needed. Unfortunately there are some enemies in our midst. They work in secret, and in every possible way to oppose our Government and to cripple it in the prosecution of the war. The conditions existing call for legislation to supplement present criminal statutes. This legislation, in my opinion, goes a long way toward meeting the situation. It is not perfect, and filling up the hiatus that exists and supplementing existing statutes does not meet my views in all respects, but it will prove effective and be a necessary and powerful weapon in the hands of the Government to enable it to prosecute individuals who are spreading sedition and trying to undermine the faith of the people in the integrity of our Nation and aid our enemies in this mighty conflict.

“With the effort that has been made in good faith by the Post Office Department to exclude from the mails treasonable and disloyal publications, it cannot be charged that it has failed in its duty. Indeed, if we are to believe the eminent Senator from Illinois (Mr. Sherman), the Senator from Idaho (Mr. Borah), the Senator from California (Mr. Johnson), the activities of the Post Office Department in its denial of the privileges of the mails to publications have been too rigorous; another criticism has been made by some that the Post Office Department has excluded from the mails publications with which no fault could be found. I know that the greatest caution is exercised by Judge Lamar and the legal advisers of the Postmaster General in Washington as to what shall be excluded from the mails. There can be no legitimate criticism of their actions. Frequently their decisions have been reviewed by the courts; but, as I am informed, the courts have uniformly supported them.

“The Postmaster General acts only upon legal advice in excluding from the mails publications, literature, fraud orders, letters and other objectionable matter, which the law clearly points out. His action is subject to review by the court; and under this bill no different power is conferred upon him than that granted in statutes enacted in years gone by.

“In the United States today there are between 1,500 and 1,600 foreign-language newspapers. In addition, there are hundreds of papers published in the English language. It is impossible, with the limited resources at the command of the Postmaster General, to scrutinize with that care that perhaps the situation demands every issue of every paper as soon as it is deposited in the mails.

“Now and then, indeed frequently, newspapers that ought to be excluded will get into the mails, one issue or perhaps two or three issues.

“The Judiciary Committee has reported favorably the bill for the revocation of the charter of the German-American National Alliance, and at the earliest possible moment I shall ask the attention of the Senate to the consideration of that bill, with a view to having it passed.

"In a number of States since the German-American Alliance voluntarily attempted to suspend—and of course Senators will realize that it can not do that, because it exists in virtue of a Congressional charter, and a mere voluntary meeting of some of the members and agreeing to dissolve would not effectuate a dissolution of the organization; that could only be done by legislative declaration, or possibly by judicial decree, although I doubt that it could be thus dissolved—some of the subordinate organizations, State organizations, and some of the local organizations, have determined to continue their activities. In some few instances, I am told, local societies have changed their names with the idea of proceeding along the same lines under some other name.

"In Pennsylvania the name of one of the local organizations was changed to some historical association or an association for the purpose of studying the relation of nations to each other. It would seem that there are a number of members of the parent or affiliated organizations who are determined to preserve the spirit of the old organization under a different form and a different name. I sincerely hope that the States and the loyal Americans of German birth and ancestry will see to it that no organization shall be permitted for the purpose of spreading Pan-Germanism or waging a propaganda for the destruction of this Nation and the superimposition upon this country and the world of the policies, the tyranny and the military despotism which finds expression in the rule of the present German Kaiser. The German-American National Alliance should be dissolved. Its work in our Nation was destructive and disintegrating. It stood not for America and American ideals, but represented rather the spirit and kultur of modern Germany.

"Mr. STERLING. Mr. President, if I may be allowed to proceed, I sympathize quite thoroughly with the sentiment expressed, and implied, too, in the statement of the Senator from Illinois (Mr. Sherman), and also with what has been said by the Senator from Utah (Mr. King). I have the honor of being a member of the subcommittee of the Judiciary Committee which has had under investigation the German-American National Alliance. You have but to take the charter and read the glowing purposes for which that association was organized under the terms of the charter, and then compare that with their deeds and their influence, to be convinced that it is an instrument of activities wholly prejudicial to our Government and to our institutions. Not one dollar has even been spent in the furtherance of any one of the purposes set forth in the charter; that, I think, clearly appears from the testimony; but thousands, running into hundreds of thousands, of dollars have been collected for purposes wholly foreign to the interests of this country, and in many instances adverse to the interests of this country.

"Mr. President, the great value of the act will probably not lie so much in actual prosecutions under it, although there may be now and then a case, but it will be in the great deterrent effect it will have in preventing the commission of these offenses, thus bringing the Government of the United States in time of war or the Constitution of the United States or the Army and Navy of the United States into disrepute, when, indeed, we should be in our full vigor, with the morale and the physical and, I may say, mental strength of the Army at the maximum rather than to have either injured in any way whatever by utterances and publications such as this bill would prohibit.

"Mr. FRANCE. Mr. President, I do not wish to prolong the debate upon this conference report, but I desire to make a very brief statement with reference to it in order that the *Record* may very clearly show the exact status of this report and the brief history of it since the 9th day of April, when I offered an amendment to this bill, which is now before us as the conference report.

"On the 9th day of April, realizing that this was a most drastic measure—far more drastic, as has been shown by the Senator from Missouri (Mr. Reed) during the course of the debate, than the old sedition law—realizing that this was a far more drastic measure than that, I desired to see incorporated in the bill language which in a definite and specific way would assure the people of the country that this legislation was not intended to deprive them of those rights which are clearly guaranteed to them under the first amendment to the Constitution. Upon the 9th of April the Senate, after a sufficient discussion, for a prolonged discussion was unnecessary, rejected the amendment under discussion by a vote of 31 to 33. On the following day, however, after the Senate had been given an opportunity to consider the matter further, this amendment, numbered 6, was adopted by the Senate without a dissenting vote."

"I wish the *Record* to show that the Senate rejected this amendment; that it then unanimously adopted it; and then, through its conferees, it receded from the amendment, and that now the Senate is about to adopt the conference report with this amendment omitted from it.

"I think it would be very unfortunate, after the adoption of this amendment, whether it was material in the first place or not, if the Senate should now go on record as being against preserving the right of the American people to 'speak what is true, with good motives and for justifiable ends.' Not only would it be unfortunate if the Senate should be placed in such a position, but I think the effect of such action would be most unfortunate so far as the prosecution of the war is concerned; and in giving my reasons for that I desire to quote what was quoted on April 19 of last year by the distinguished Senator from Idaho (Mr. Borah) in a masterly address on this subject on the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. I desire to quote it, because I think it is pertinent in this connection, for it indicates very clearly one reason why I feel that the adoption of this conference report with this amendment eliminated would be most unfortunate as far as the prosecution of the war is concerned:

"Sir James McIntosh, in the Peltier case, observed as follows:

"'To inform the public on the conduct of those who administer public affairs requires courage and conscious security. It is always an invidious and obnoxious office, but it is often the most necessary of all public duties. If it is not done boldly, it can not be done effectually, and it is not from writers trembling under the uplifted scourge that we are to hope for it.'"

"There seems to be a very great misunderstanding on the part of some of the learned Senators, particularly those learned in the law, as to the meaning of this amendment. They have insisted on discussing the subject of motive apart from the subject of the truth, which, of course, results in a failure to grasp the meaning of this amendment, which, to be properly understood, must be taken as a whole. In order that there may be no misunderstanding as to the meaning of this amendment, I

desire to quote this language of Chief Justice Story, language which he uses with reference to the first amendment of the Constitution, which explains clearly this amendment; and, indeed, you will note that the language of my amendment was borrowed from this statement of the Chief Justice:

"It is plain, then, that the language of this amendment imports no more than that every man shall have a right to speak, write, and print his opinions upon any subject whatsoever, without any prior restraint, so always that he does not injure any other person in his rights, person, property, or reputation; and so always that he does not thereby disturb the public peace or attempt to subvert the Government. It is neither more nor less than an expansion of the great doctrine recently brought into operation in the law of libel, that every man shall be at liberty to publish what is true, with good motives, and for justifiable ends. And with this reasonable limitation it is not only right in itself, but it is an inestimable privilege in a free government. Without such limitation it might become the scourge of the Republic, first denouncing the principles of liberty, and then, by rendering the most virtuous patriots odious through the terrors of the press, introducing despotism in its worst form."

"Referring, of course, to the freedom-of-speech section of the first amendment to the Constitution,

"He goes on to say:

"A little attention to the history of other countries in other ages will teach us the vast importance of this right. It is notorious that even to this day in some foreign countries it is a crime to speak on any subject, religious, philosophical, or political, what is contrary to the received opinions of the Government or the institutions of the country, however laudable may be the design and however virtuous may be the motive."

"Mr. President, I had not expected to occupy even this much time, but I desire to say just this word further:

"We have fallen into the habit of using this sort of logic in the Congress: 'We are at war. We all wish to win the war. This measure will help win the war. Therefore we must adopt this measure'; and the corollary: That any man who is not in favor of this measure is against winning the war."

"Mr. KING. Mr. President—

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Utah?

"Mr. FRANCE. Certainly.

"Mr. KING. The Senator has just quoted from Judge Story with respect to the freedom of the press and the freedom of speech. Would it be displeasing to the Senator for me at this point to call his attention to another statement of Judge Story in the second volume of his work on constitutional law?

"Mr. FRANCE. Not at all. I shall be pleased to have it added to the *Record*.

"Mr. KING. Judge Story uses this language:

"There is a good deal of loose reasoning on the subject of the liberty of the press, as if its inviolability were constitutionally such that, like the King of England, it could do no wrong and was free from every inquiry and afforded a perfect sanctuary for every abuse; that, in short, it implied a despotic sovereignty to do every sort of wrong without the slightest accountability to private or public justice. Such a notion is too extravagant to be held by any sound constitutional lawyer—"

"And, I may say in parenthesis, by any good, loyal American citizen.

"Such a notion is too extravagant to be held by any sound constitutional lawyer with regard to the rights and duties belonging to governments generally or the State governments in particular. If it were admitted to be correct, it might be justly affirmed that the liberty of the press was incompatible with the permanent existence of any free government. * * * In short, is it contended that the liberty of the press is so much more valuable than all other rights in society that the public safety—nay, the existence of the Government itself—is to yield to it? It would be difficult to answer these questions in favor of the liberty of the press without at the same time declaring that such a license belonged, and could only belong, to a despotism, and was utterly incompatible with the principles of a free government.'

"I thank the Senator for permitting me to put that into the *Record*.

"Mr. FRANCE. I thank the Senator from Utah; and I will say in reply that I am familiar with that language, which is merely an extension of what I read. I should have been very glad to have read the more extended quotation, but it was not necessary for my purpose. That was the position occupied by the Chief Justice; and, taking that very position, he also took the position that this right must be preserved—the right of every citizen to 'publish or speak what is true, from good motives and for justifiable ends.' That is what the Chief Justice insisted upon in connection with the very language quoted by the Senator from Utah.

"I shall not go into the subject of the constitutionality of this measure.

"Mr. WALSH. Mr. President—

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. Does the Senator from Maryland yield to the Senator from Montana?

"Mr. FRANCE. With pleasure.

"Mr. WALSH. Inasmuch as the Senator from Maryland is the author of this clause that has been so much discussed, I should like to ask him if he will kindly give the Senate a concrete case in which one who is entitled to do so would be embarrassed in making a just defense with this language, not in the act.

"Mr. FRANCE. It would give me pleasure to do so. I do not care, however, to do so with any degree of explicitness, for reasons which I need not go into now. I will say, however, that if an editorial which was read the other day from the *New York Times*—which to my mind clearly indicated possible misconduct on the part of certain officials of this Government, and which closed with the statement to the effect that if these suspicions were justified these men should be dealt with criminally—if that editorial had gone further and had mentioned the names of these gentlemen, I do not believe that the writer of it could have claimed exemption from the operation of this law, if under this proposed law he had been subjected to prosecution.

"Mr. WALSH. If that is the instance the Senator has in mind, I should like to inquire of him under what particular provision of this bill the editor of the *New York Times* stands in any peril?

"Mr. FRANCE. I did not care to go into this subject any more fully, because specific instances—

"Mr. WALSH. Of course, these are very practical questions that we are dealing with.

"Mr. FRANCE. This is a very practical question; but the Senator is well aware that I do not care to bring to the bar of the Senate any paper or any official at this time; and for that reason it is unfair for me to enter into any extended discussion of any particular case. The Senator from Montana will realize the justice of that.

"Mr. WALSH. The Senator referred to the editorial appearance in the *New York Times*—

"Mr. FRANCE. Yes.

"Mr. WALSH. A very proper criticism, it seems to me, of some of the officers of the Government connected with the prosecution of the war; but, as I asked a moment ago, under what provision of the bill does the editor of that paper stand in any peril?

"Mr. FRANCE. I will read the language to the Senator, eliminating what is not relevant:

"Whoever * * * shall * * * publish * * * abusive language about the * * * military * * * forces of the United States * * * ,

"It seems to me that it is somewhat abusive, to say the least, to indicate that certain members of the military forces—if that is a fair interpretation of the editorial—should be subjected to criminal prosecution for their acts.

"Mr. WALSH. Why, Mr. President, that idea could be expressed in the most refined and unexceptional language. There is no fault to be found with the language in which it is charged.

"Mr. FRANCE. I am not saying that in my judgment there has been any abusive language.

"Mr. WALSH. I was going to say, if it were abusive, it would not be permitted to be read here in the Senate. There was nothing abusive about the language, however severe it may have been.

"Mr. FRANCE. I have the very highest regard for the legal opinion of the Senator from Montana, and I had not expected to occupy so much time. I realize that opinions may well differ with reference to particular phraseology. I was about to say that I do not care to go into any constitutional discussion on this subject. I think it is very clear, however, that under the Constitution of the United States the States did not delegate to the Federal Government the right to pass laws limiting the freedom of speech and the freedom of the press. Upon this both Hamilton and Jefferson, who rarely agreed, were in complete agreement.

"At a time like this, Mr. President, we are in grave danger of getting to the point where we are not a sovereign Senate. We are a Senate representing sovereign States, and those States are nothing but the creation of a sovereign people. Such legislation as this, to my mind, can only be possible when that great truth has been forgotten. Our sovereigns lie out yonder, and it is their sovereign will as voiced by them which we must express in legislation, by such legislation giving direction to executive action. Neither the legislative nor the executive departments of this Government is sovereign, but the sovereigns whose will we are here expressing in legislation are the people of the United States.

"I hesitate to pass any legislation by which we would place a rough hand upon that sovereign people and say to them, 'Be

still! This is the Senate's war; this is the Executive's war. This is a Washington war.' Senators, what a fallacy! This proposed legislation arises from a total misconception of the very nature of modern war, a misconception which in my opinion has been responsible for many of the mistakes which have been made.

"War is no longer a matter of armies; it is a matter of whole nations; and we can not win this war with one, two, three, or four million men in France. We can only win it by calling into the combat all the great resources of the American people. We can only win it by a great organization and a united Nation. I am opposed to this legislation, because I believe it makes not for unity but for disorganization and for disintegration.

"I wish to refer briefly to the history of the old sedition law of 1798 and to quote the words of Hamilton, which completely express my views upon the pending legislation. Hamilton no sooner saw the sedition law which had been introduced into Congress than he wrote:

"Let us not establish tyranny. Energy is a very different thing from violence. If we make no false step, we shall be essentially united; but if we push things to extremes, we shall then give to faction body and solidity."

"Mr. President, I shall not take the time of the Senate to trace all of the disintegrating influences which followed the enactment of the old alien and sedition law; to tell you how it then almost resulted in the dissolution of the Republic and how, because of the enactment of that law, there was born that doctrine of nullification and secession which so many years later almost destroyed the Union. It was the opposition of Thomas Jefferson to that law which led to the first sowing of the seeds of the pernicious doctrine that the States could nullify the action of the Federal Government. It is important, however, to remember that the old sedition law was much less drastic than the law which we are now enacting, for Bayard in the House of Representatives proposed an amendment, which was adopted, allowing the truth to be offered in evidence. My dear friend, the Senator from Minnesota (Mr. Nelson), for whose motives I have the highest regard, one of the men who did not hesitate to offer his breast to the enemy when the perpetuity of the Union was threatened, has said that the evil of sedition exists and that we must find a remedy.

"Physicians know that there is a remedy for every evil, but they must constantly decide the problem as to whether the application of that remedy will improve the condition of the patient or not, or whether the remedy will be worse than the disease. This proposed remedy, I believe, Mr. President, would do harm, for it is intended to eliminate certain evils, while it would indeed extirpate at the same time the necessary function of free discussion by word of mouth and by the press, which is so indispensable at this time.

"In this connection I desire to read a statement of Franklin:

"Freedom of speech is a principal pillar of a free government; when this support is taken away, the constitution of a free society is dissolved and tyranny is erected on its ruins. Republics and limited monarchies derive their strength and vigor from a popular examination into the action of the magistrates; this privilege in all ages has been and always will be abused. The best of men could not escape the censure and envy of the times

they lived in. Yet this evil is not so great as it might appear at first sight. A magistrate who sincerely aims at the good of society will always have the inclinations of a great majority on his side, and an impartial posterity will not fail to render him justice. Those abuses of the freedom of speech are the excesses of liberty. They ought to be repressed—'

"This is the point—these abuses ought to be repressed—but to whom dare we commit the care of doing it? An evil magistrate, entrusted with power to punish for words, would be armed with a weapon the most destructive and terrible. Under pretense of pruning off the exuberant branches he would be apt to destroy the tree. (Franklin, Works by Sparks, Vol. II, p. 285.)'

"Mr. President, on my files dealing with this subject I have a valued quotation from the Senator from Colorado (Mr. Thomas), for whose opinion I entertain a very high regard. He said on April 18 of last year:

"'It is only in time of war that these great constitutional limitations upon despotism are put to the test. It is precisely then that they are useful. They have no particular moment in times of quiet, when the minds of men are diverted to the pursuits of peace, when prosperity and happiness smile over the land. It is only on occasions like this when they become effective and their value is priceless. Consequently it is at such times that we must see to it that they are preserved, lest when peace does return we shall realize that some of the most important safeguards of liberty have been swept away in the torrent of the conflict.'

"Mr. President, I think the issue is clear. I think it is perfectly clear that those who vote for this measure as altered at the behest and under the direction, as it seems to me, of Mr. John Lord O'Brian, of the Department of Justice, every man who votes for this conference report, in my judgment, votes for it because he has come to the conclusion, after careful deliberation, that at this time of national peril it is not safe to allow the American people to 'speak what is true from good motives and for justifiable ends.' I do not set my judgment against theirs, but I do desire to say for myself that I do not think that the voice of the people, of the sovereign people of this Republic, should be silenced at this time when the winning of the war depends not upon Congress, not upon the Executive, not upon Washington, but upon the masses of the sovereign people all over the Republic. I am thankful that I do not entertain such an opinion of that sovereign people that I dare in this hour to cast my vote to deprive them of that inalienable right to 'speak the truth from good motives and for justifiable ends.'

"If the great party of Thomas Jefferson desires to place itself upon record as denying the people their inalienable right to speak 'what is true for good motives and for justifiable ends,' then they will adopt this conference report.

"Mr. OVERMAN. Mr. President, every Senator who votes against this conference report can have the satisfaction of knowing that he has voted for an amendment that will throw a cloak of protection around every spy in this country and every traitor and every Bolshevik and every I. W. W. that is denied to a loyal American citizen.

"Mr. WADSWORTH. Mr. President, does the Senator really want to go upon record in that way?

"Mr. OVERMAN. I will strike out the word 'proud,' as I mean no disrespect to any Senator or intent to impeach in any way his patriotism. I say any Senator who votes for that will be heard to admit that he has voted for an amendment to a criminal statute that does not appear in any other criminal statute in the world and which gives the defense to a disloyal citizen that we heretofore in all our criminal statutes have never given to a loyal citizen. Does anyone deny that? Is not that the truth?

"Mr. FRANCE. There is no Senator on the floor whose purposes at this time more nearly coincide with mine than the Senator from North Carolina. We are looking at this thing merely from different angles.

"Mr. OVERMAN. I am not criticising any Senator's loyalty, or that any Senator has not as much loyalty as I have myself. I credit that to every Senator on this floor, but I ask the Senator if there is any criminal statute in the world that has ever been enacted containing such an amendment as this? Can he cite me one?

"Mr. FRANCE. I will say in answer to the Senator that I do not believe there has been enacted in any country since the Dark Ages any criminal statute so framed as to make such an amendment necessary.

"Mr. OVERMAN. I repeat it, that there is no criminal statute that was ever passed that has any such provision in it, and it is giving an additional burden to the Government that ought not to be given, and it is requiring proof that is not required in any other criminal statute in the world.

"What is this statute for? It is a criminal statute. It is a statute that we have been trying to pass here for the benefit of the Army and to preserve our country. We have been trying to pass it for 12 long months, and we have had to fight it out in the Senate for weeks and weeks. It went to the House of Representatives and comes back here and then goes into conference, and here we have the same old fight again. There is delay, delay, delay, and the war is going on and the Kaiser at work in this country with his pernicious propaganda.

"Why do you want to put an additional provision in here to throw additional burdens on the prosecuting officer of the Government and give a new defense to all these men as to motives who are indicted, these German spies, the Bolshevik, and these I. W. W.'s? Why do you not let us have the same criminal statutes we have for everybody else?

"The Senator from Colorado (Mr. Thomas) has made one of the most lucid arguments that have been made in the Senate on the subject. He showed clearly that nobody has been able to contend against him as to his argument that if this amendment is included in the bill it will work harm. I want to reinforce his argument by an additional letter sent here by the Attorney General. The Senator from Colorado made a great argument, and I want to reinforce that argument by putting in the *Record* the argument of the Attorney General on this subject. He gives concrete cases to show the harm it will work and how difficult it will be to convict these men. This criminal statute is for the purpose of convicting guilty men, not innocent men. No loyal citizen can be convicted under it, and under the amendment it is believed by many that guilty men will escape. Therefore there is no reason for putting such an amendment in the statute.

"Mr. KING. The Senator from Maryland (Mr. France) just now said that outside of the Dark Ages there could not be found such a statute as this. I should like to put into the *Record*, with the permission of the Senator from North Carolina, the statute which was passed in Canada dealing with this question and cognate ones, and the statute in England is very much the same:

"Whereas the ultimate constitutional authority, the people of Canada, have determined that the present war in which Canada with Great Britain and her allies is engaged is a just war and entered upon for just cause and from the highest motives, and on that should be prosecuted without faltering to a conclusion which shall insure the attainment of the purposes for which it was so entered upon; and

"Whereas the mind of the entire people should be centered upon the proper carrying out in the most effective manner of that final decision, and that all questioning in the press or otherwise of the causes of that war, the motives of Canada, Great Britain, or the allies in entering upon and carrying on the same, and the policies by them adopted for its prosecution, must necessarily divert attention from the one great object on which it should be so centered, and tend to defeat or impede the effective carrying out of that decision; and

"Whereas the day for consideration and discussion has passed, and the day for united action in execution of an unchangeable decision has come, and it is therefore necessary to remove every obstacle and hindrance to such united action; and

"Whereas it is desirable to prohibit the publication of secret and confidential information as hereinafter set forth:

"Therefore His Excellency the Governor General in Council, on the recommendation of the minister of justice, under and in virtue of the powers conferred upon the governor in council by the war-measures act, 1914, is pleased to order and enact an order and regulation, and the same is hereby ordered and enacted in the terms following, to wit:

"ORDER AND REGULATION.

"1. It shall be an offense—

"(a) To print, publish, or publicly express any adverse or unfavorable statement, report or opinion concerning the causes of the present war or the motives or purposes for which Canada or the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland or any of the allied nations entered upon or prosecutes the same, which may tend to arouse hostile feeling, create unrest, or unsettle or inflame public opinion.

"(b) To print, publish or publicly express any adverse or unfavorable statement, report or opinion concerning the action of Canada, the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, or any allied nation in prosecuting the war.

"(c) To print or give public expression or circulation to any false statement or report respecting the work or activities of any department, branch or officer of the public service or the service or activities of Canada's military or naval forces which may tend to inflame public opinion and thereby hamper the Government of Canada or prejudicially affect its military or naval forces in the prosecution of the war.

"(d) To print, publish or publicly express any statement report or opinion which may tend to weaken or in any way detract from the united effort of the people of Canada in the prosecution of the war.

"(e) To print, publish or publicly express any report of or to purport to describe or to refer to the proceedings at any secret session of the house of commons or senate held in pursuance of a resolution passed by the said house or senate, except such report thereof as may be officially communicated through the director of public information.

"(f) Without lawful authority, to publish the contents of any confidential document belonging to, or any confidential information obtained from, any Government department or any person in the service of His Majesty.

"2. Any person found guilty of an offense hereunder shall, upon summary conviction, be liable to a fine not exceeding \$5,000 or to imprisonment for not more than five years, or to both fine and imprisonment."

"The Senator will see this goes much further in many respects than the measure which is now under consideration.

"Mr. OVERMAN. Of course, Mr. President, much further. We have to trust somebody, Senators, to administer the law. There has been too much of a tendency here in the senate to oppose good measures on account of men. Is not that true? Senators have stood here and fought excellent measures because of the men who had to administer them. We have to trust somebody. That is not the way Senators should consider a great measure which is to be passed for the benefit of the citizens of this entire country.

"I am not going further into the argument, except to say that I have a mass of literature before me—and if I had more time I should like to put some of it in the *Record*—showing that there is a German propaganda going on in this country through religious societies. I have seen letters in which it is stated they are trying to employ what are called colporteurs to distribute what they term religious tracts and quotations from the Bible among the employees in all our manufacturing institutions, telling them it is wrong to make munitions and sending out literature of every kind and character. I wish I could put this matter in the *Record*, but there is too much of it.

"Now, Mr. President, I ask that the Secretary read the letter addressed to me from the Department of Justice. I wish I could also have the memorandum attached thereto read, but it is somewhat long, and I will ask that it be put into the *Record*.

"The Secretary read as follows:

" 'DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

" 'Washington, D. C., April 26, 1918.

" 'Senator LEE S. OVERMAN,

" 'United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

" 'MY DEAR SENATOR OVERMAN: Judging from the debate in the Senate yesterday the purport of the letter addressed to Mr. WEBB on April 16 does not seem to have been clear. This is the situation:

" 'As already pointed out, the greatest danger to the country, internally, today is the use of different sorts of seditious propaganda, particularly the false pacifist propaganda. As section 2

now stands, without the proviso as to good motives and justifiable ends, the accused when brought to trial already has surrounding him all the protection afforded by the Constitution of the United States guaranteeing the right of free speech, etc. Further, to secure his conviction the Government must prove that he did willfully the act complained of, and it is also necessary, as the courts have invariably pointed out to the juries, for the jury to be satisfied that the acts were done or the utterances made with intent to obstruct enlistment or to cause insubordination, etc. About 250 defendants have either pleaded guilty or have been convicted by juries under this section. There has been no general complaint that the law has not been impartially administered or that individual liberties have been improperly interfered with.

"It is quite unnecessary to say that the Department of Justice, even in war time, believes that the fullest measure of constitutional protection should be given to every defendant. That is already accomplished without the addition of the proposed proviso. In this connection I respectfully call your attention to the opinion recently expressed by ex-President William H. Taft, who has been recently quoted in the newspapers as stating:

"The statutes should never require proof that the uttering of disloyal sentiment is with the intent to stop the draft or to accomplish some other treasonable purpose. This is often difficult to show, and when it can be shown the crime should be regarded as of a higher order and should have severe punishment. The ground for penalizing such words without regard to the intention of the speaker is that they have one or two pernicious tendencies; they either stir those who hear to violence, and so produce a breach of the peace, or they influence others to share in the sentiment, and thus retard support of the war."

"A few days ago one Clarence H. Waldron, convicted at Burlington, Vt., under section 3, was sentenced to serve a term of fifteen years for attempts to cause insubordination in the military forces, etc. In his charge to the jury in this case United States District Judge Howe used the following language:

"The Government's evidence tends to show that the defendant intended to cause insubordination, disloyalty, and refusal of duty in the military forces of the United States; the defendant's evidence tends to show that the only intention which he had was to serve God.

"You should be careful not to mix motive with intent. Motive is that which leads to the act; intent qualifies it. A crime may be committed with a good motive; it may be committed with an evil motive, or it may be committed with a good and an evil motive. To illustrate: The father of a large family steals bread for his starving children and also to deprive the owner of its value. He has two motives; one is good and one is evil; but he is guilty, notwithstanding he has a good motive as well as an evil motive, for he must not steal at all. So in this case the defendant's intention to serve God does not excuse him, if you find that he also intended to cause insubordination, disloyalty, or refusal of duty."

"This is an accurate statement of the law; but if at the time of this trial the proviso as to good motives, justifiable ends, etc., had been written in at the end of the statute the court could not properly have made the statement of the law above set forth.

"As a lawyer, you will readily understand what a cloud of confusing legal technicalities can be stirred up by introducing collateral questions as to what are justifiable ends, the personal motives of the defendant, etc., especially in cases where the real issue should be the question whether the defendant has willfully crippled his country in war time.

"The position of this department is this: This section is effective only during the period of war. For nearly a year the original section 3 has existed without the proviso, and no wrong has been done under it. There is no necessity now for inserting such a proviso. Without it the defendant will have the full measure of protection guaranteed him by the Constitution, and the Government will be, as now, required to prove beyond a reasonable doubt both intent and willful action. To insert such a proviso in the statute will place an additional and unnecessary burden on the prosecution which will seriously hamper the prosecution of the most dangerous forms of German propaganda. This is not a statement of opinion, but a statement of fact based on the actual experience of the past year.

"Respectfully,

JOHN LORD O'BRIAN,

"Special Assistant to the Attorney General for War Work

"(For the Attorney General)."

"The memorandum referred to is as follows:

"DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,

"Washington, D. C., April 25, 1918.

"MEMORANDUM ON PENDING AMENDMENT OF ESPIONAGE ACT.

"In the pending bill to amend section 3, Title I, of the espionage act, a clause was inserted in the Senate reading:

"Provided, however, That nothing in this act shall be construed as limiting the liberty or impairing the right of any individual to publish or speak what is true, with good motives and for justifiable ends."

"At the suggestion of this department said clause was eliminated by the conference committee, and the pending discussion in the Senate relates to that clause.

"This clause might be interpreted as governing all cases under section 3, whether arising under the section as originally enacted or as amended by the new act. At the very least it would govern cases brought for attempting to obstruct or discourage the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States, which will be the provision under which most cases against propaganda will be brought.

"The said clause relating to motives and justifiable ends will, as a practical matter, make the espionage act either entirely useless or materially decrease its usefulness as a weapon against pro-German or anti-war propaganda.

"Most of the amendments inserted in the bill in the Senate do not concern that which may be properly termed "propaganda." They are concerned with disloyal, contemptuous, etc., language about the form of government or the flag or the uniform. These disloyal remarks or outbursts, against which these amendments are mainly directed, have seldom any effectiveness as propaganda. In fact, the debate in the Senate showed that these provisions were treated as police provisions made necessary because the disloyal remarks of the type indicated in the

bill, instead of causing disloyalty, tend to cause a passionate loyalty which expresses itself in outrages and disorders. Consequently in dealing with these disloyal remarks which are brought within the scope of the espionage act by these amendments we are not dealing with propaganda; that is, effective propaganda which obstructs the prosecution of the war by obstructing the participation of the citizens in military service or other form of war service.

"The dangerous propaganda seldom takes the shape of open and frank abuse of the United States or praise of Germany. It practically never takes the shape of advocacy of the cause of Germany or opposition to the cause of the United States in the war. It is seldom if ever possible to prove a German source of propaganda; that is, to prove that the financing of it or the instigation of it has a German source. On its face the propaganda generally shows a motive other than opposition to the cause of the United States in the war or the promotion of the cause of Germany; and it is seldom if ever possible to prove that there is a concealed motive to promote the cause of Germany. Despite its defects the espionage act has proved a fairly effective weapon against propaganda and if amended as suggested by this department there is every reason to believe that it will prove an exceedingly effective weapon against propaganda. Its effectiveness, however, for this purpose has come and must necessarily come from the principle that the motive prompting the propaganda is irrelevant and that the criminal nature of the propaganda is dependent either upon the intent of it or upon the natural or necessary effects of it. To make the question of motive relevant, as the said clause proposes, would be introducing an element which would enormously increase the difficulty of successful prosecution and enormously decrease the value of the espionage act as a deterrent of propaganda. Let me illustrate this by referring briefly to four or five of the current types of dangerous and effective propaganda.

"One of these types may be classed as religious or Christian pacifism; that is, opposition to participation in the war on the ground that such participation is opposed to the tenets of Christianity and the word of God. As we know from authoritative information, it was this type of propaganda which was extensively effective in the weakening of the Italian Army which caused the great Italian retreat. It would, if permitted to spread, tend to weaken the fighting effectiveness of any nation. On its face this type of propaganda has the highest possible motive, namely, the purely religious motive, and that is often the real motive. Even where not the real motive, any other motive would be generally impossible to prove. The statements made in this propaganda consist generally of quotations from the Bible and interpretations thereof, so that the statements of fact therein contained are generally true or at least can not be shown to be untrue. Convictions against this type of propaganda are only possible where the motive is irrelevant and the intent of the propaganda or the natural effect of the propaganda is the determining factor. Another class of effective propaganda, by which I mean propaganda which has an effectiveness in diminishing the fighting force of the Nation and contains the dangers of actually disintegrating the fighting force of the Nation, is that which is engaged in promoting the proletariat revolution. Its cardinal principle is that hostility between nations is due to commercial and capitalistic rivalry; that the real hostility is

between the proletariat of all nations and the capitalists of all nations. We know that this type of propaganda has had serious results in weakening the fighting effectiveness of Russia. It contains few assertions of facts, at any rate; assertions of facts can easily be avoided without reducing the effectiveness of the propaganda. On its face its motive is not treasonable; that is, on its face its motive is not to assist the enemy. Where a treasonable motive exists, this motive is concealed and seldom discoverable. To introduce the element of motive is to render the statute practically useless against this type of propaganda.

"Another type analogous to the previous type is that which promotes the theory that international socialism is opposed in principle to this war. The promotion of international socialism can not, when representing genuine convictions, be attributed to bad motives. It represents one theory as to the best way of promoting human happiness, and the promotion of human happiness is a good motive. Yet this propaganda sometimes takes a shape which might have great effectiveness in obstructing war preparation and the conduct of the war.

"Another type is that which is engaged in the promotion of greater equality of treatment of the negro, and proclaims that the requirement of military service on the part of the negro entitles him to be free from lynchings and various social and political discriminations. The statements of fact used in this propaganda are frequently true. The promotion of better conditions for the negro often is and may be based upon good motives; yet this propaganda often shows the intent and more often shows the tendency or natural effect of obstructing the war.

"Many other types of dangerous or effective propaganda based on good motives, or at least where proof of disloyal motive is practically never available, could be added. In short, the well-known distinction in criminal law between motive and intent is a distinction upon which the effectiveness of the espionage act as a weapon against dangerous anti-war propaganda largely depends.

"To make the question of motive relevant in these cases, as would be done if the said clause were retained, would most seriously impair, if not totally destroy, the effectiveness of the espionage act against those types of propaganda which are really the most dangerous or effective types.

"The recent trial in the district of Vermont of Clarence H. Waldron may furnish an illustration. The charge of the court in that case has been incorporated in Bulletin No. 79 of the Interpretation of War Statutes, a copy of which is hereto attached. On page 6 it will be noted that the court told the jury to be careful and not mix motive with intent, as a crime may be committed with a good motive. If the proposed clause were inserted in the bill, not only would the court have been forced to omit all reference to this well-known distinction between motive and intent, but, on the contrary, would have felt it necessary to inform the jury that it could take the motive of the defendant into account and would have to acquit him if it felt that the utterances made by him had been made with a good motive.

"The prevalence in the country of certain kinds of disloyal expressions bearing some analogy to the old types of libel of the Government has quite naturally caused the Senate to insert a clause taken from the history of the law of libel. This clause has no appropriate place, however, in a statute or part of a statute dealing with modern war propaganda. If it is to be re-

tained in the act at all, it should be most carefully limited to those portions of the act which are analogous to the law of libel, as, for instance, those provisions directed against disloyal or abusive language about the form of government of the United States or the Constitution of the United States or the military forces of the United States, etc.

"All questions of motive should be most carefully excluded from those provisions of the statute under which the more subtle, dangerous, and effective types of anti-war propaganda will have to be fought."

"Mr. OVERMAN. I desire also to put in the *Record* another memorandum which has been sent to me by the Attorney General, showing how the France amendment would impose such a burden on him that he doubts whether in many cases he could convict guilty men if the amendment is left in the bill.

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. Without objection, it is so ordered.

"The memorandum referred to is as follows:

"MEMORANDUM ON THE PROPOSED AMENDMENT TO SECTION 3, TITLE 1,
OF THE ESPIONAGE LAW.

"The opinion of the Military Intelligence Branch is entirely adverse to the amendment to the espionage law to the effect that section 3, Title 1, shall not apply to those who utter "what is true, with good motives and for justifiable ends."

"Experience teaches that such an amendment would to a large degree nullify the value of the law and turn every trial into an academic debate on insoluble riddles as to what is true. Human motives are too complicated to be discussed, and the word "justifiable" is too elastic for practical use.

"There could hardly be less harm in a law saying that a soldier shall not be punished for disobedience, provided he has his refusal to serve on grounds that are true and justifiable and proves that his motives are pure. Our soldiers temporarily surrender their liberties of thought and speech and action in order that they may save them for the future. The whole Nation must subject itself to discipline until after the war. Otherwise in defending liberties in detail, we may lose liberty altogether.

"In every division camp there are so-called "conscientious objectors" who refuse to do any military duty whatsoever. They endeavor to spread their policy throughout the camps. They are stimulated by numerous publishers and orators. The Intelligence Service has in its files great quantities of books, periodicals, circulars, and letters intercepted and confiscated. The truth of these documents depends on the point of view of the reader. The motives alleged are the highest and yet their unrestricted dissemination could only serve to stir men up to mutiny and tend to disintegrate our entire Army.

"One of the most dangerous examples of this sort of propaganda is the book called "The Finished Mystery," a work written in extremely religious language and distributed in enormous numbers. The only effect of it is to lead soldiers to discredit our cause and to inspire a feeling at home of resistance to the draft.

"The *Kingdom News*, of Brooklyn, prints a petition demanding that restrictions on "The Finished Mystery" and similar works should be removed "so that people may be permitted, without interference or molestation, to buy, sell, have and read

this aid to Bible study." The passage of this amendment would reopen our camps to this poisonous influence.

"The International Bible Students Association pretends to the most religious motives, yet we have found that its headquarters have long been reported as the resort of German agents.

"Shakespeare wisely said that "the devil may quote Scripture to his own purposes," and the Germans are peculiarly fond of abusing the religious spirit. The Kaiser appeals for obedience to his every behest on the claim that he is the divine representative and spokesman. The German clergy has been a unit both at home and throughout this country in denouncing all resistance to the Kaiser as impious.

"The collapse of the Italian Army last year was largely due to the religious literature printed in Italian and dropped among the troops by Austrian airships. The Germans have recently dropped among the British troops thousands of copies of a sermon by the Rev. John Haynes Holmes with a view to stirring up mutiny. This preacher resides in America and is linked with "The Finished Mystery" group. His motives are fanatically sincere, and he thinks his ends justifiable, yet it is evident that if his sermons appeal to the Germans as ammunition they must be dangerous in our country. The amendment proposed would leave such preachers to unrestricted sedition.

"The gospel of sabotage is preached by many eminent professors in eloquent terms. Destruction of property, ruination of sawmills, burning of crops, sinking of ships, are all advocated as acts of high principle looking toward the betterment of labor. The result is the hampering of military success; and it is the result, not the motive, that must be guarded against. The damage to life, property, and efficiency already done by these doctrines is great, and they threaten greater damage.

"The motives of a negro preaching the elevation of his race could hardly be attacked as bad, yet the result may be equivalent to the prevention of reinforcements. G. H. Mason, a negro pastor of Jackson, Miss., preached resistance to the draft, with the result that only 31 out of 63 negro registrants in that county responded to the call.

"There is no more dangerous element in this country than that which conscientiously battles for unlimited individual freedom of act and speech at this time. The persons assume the highest ethical and philosophical grounds, but their influence is as paralyzing as that of the fanatics whose motives are so earnest that they will commit arson, murder, or suicide to register their beliefs.

"The motives of the Bolshevlki in Russia were good, their ends justifiable in their eyes, and their criticisms of the administrations were true; but they overlooked the military danger of such discussions, with the result that the soldiers shot nobody but their own officers and their fellow citizens, and the Germans are still marching almost unresisted across the prostrate nation in spite of a treaty of peace.

"The only ones who have profited by the Russian excess of liberty are the Germans, who do not believe in personal freedom except in the countries they wish to conquer.

"The passage of this amendment would greatly weaken American efficiency and help none but the enemy. Results, not motives, count in war; therefore the law and its executors should be concerned with procuring desirable and preventing dangerous results, leaving motives to the mercy of the judges or to the perspective of historians.'

"Mr. KING. The other day during the discussion of one phase of this conference report, particularly that to which the Senator from Idaho (Mr. Borah) addressed himself, attention was called to the fraud statute and to the holdings of the court in respect to that statute. I have received a letter from the Solicitor of the Post Office Department, and I should like to have it read at this time as a part of the discussion upon this phase of the conference report.

"The PRESIDING OFFICER. The Chair hears no objection, and the letter referred to by the Senator from Utah will be read.

"The Secretary read as follows:

"POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT,

"Washington, May 4, 1918.

"HON. WILLIAM H. KING,

"United States Senate, Washington, D. C.

"MY DEAR SENATOR KING: I read in the *Record* this morning the speeches in the Senate of yesterday and your remarks in the course of the debate.

"The language of section 4 under discussion is identical with that of the fraud statute, and it is impossible to make any distinction between the practical operation of the two measures. The fraud statute itself does not provide for a hearing, nor does it provide that a fraud order shall only be issued against persons who have been convicted of the fraud, as one might assume from the remarks of Senators.

"The Postmaster General would at the present time have as much power to issue fraud orders against newspapers for political purposes or in order to accomplish any of the purposes suggested by Senators in furtherance of political interests under the existing fraud statute as he would have to issue orders for the return of such mail under section 4 of the bill. The fraud statute itself does not even provide for a hearing. As a matter of practice and in order to administer absolute justice, full hearings are held in fraud cases; that is, where conclusive evidence of the fraud does not appear upon the face of the papers before the department. This practice would undoubtedly be extended to cover seditious cases, but in the latter class much of the illegal matter under the espionage act would appear on the very face of the literature being circulated, which would make a hearing unnecessary in some cases. In fact, the public interests might seriously suffer by permitting the continued use of the mails to one sending literature manifestly in violation of the espionage act pending such hearing.

"Nor does the analogy between the fraud statute and the proposed law stop at what has been said. The fraud statute does not provide in terms for a review by the courts, but it is settled law that the equity courts have jurisdiction to restrain orders of the Postmaster General where they are issued contrary to law or where for any reason it appears the Postmaster General has acted in an arbitrary or capricious manner.

"This is a war measure and is intended to prevent this great governmental instrumentality—the mails—from being used against the interest of the Government in the prosecution of this war. The equity courts would have the same jurisdiction to restrain improper orders of the Postmaster General under section 4 of this proposed bill that they now have under the fraud statute. If the Postmaster General should attempt to use this

power for other purposes, political or otherwise, such as has been suggested in the course of the debate, he would not only violate the law himself, a remedy for which would immediately be available in injunction proceedings, but make himself the object of ridicule and contempt of the American people, with the result that instead of accomplishing any political advantage such action would be a political boomerang.

"There is a further analogy between this class of legislation and fraud legislation. Not only has Congress provided for the issuance of fraud orders by the Post Office Department upon evidence satisfactory to the Postmaster General, but, as in the matter under consideration, there is a companion criminal statute making it a penal offense to use the mails for fraudulent purposes. The delays incident and the technicalities resorted to in criminal proceedings have demonstrated beyond any doubt that the preventive measure employed by the Post Office Department is infinitely more effective in preventing frauds than the criminal provision. The fact is that the action of the Post Office Department in detecting frauds has furnished the information upon which criminal prosecutions have followed.

"The recent case of the Masses Publishing Co., where the magazine has been barred from the mails since last July, and where the courts have sustained the action of the department, but where the criminal proceedings are still pending after one mistrial, is an example of the relative efficiency of the two methods in handling seditious matter. The Masses case is merely typical. In many such cases it takes years to bring offenders to trial in fraud cases.

"Much of the seditious matter that is now being circulated is distributed by persons or concerns throughout the country in circular form and is accompanied by urgent solicitations for funds to continue the propaganda work, and hundreds of thousands of dollars are being sent through the mails to the distributors of such literature. The proposed section 4 would enable the Post Office Department to promptly reach and suppress this evil. The propagandists now engaged in this work in most cases are willing to serve prison sentences if they are only permitted to conduct the propaganda. They are largely of a class who have nothing to lose by a prison sentence, and, in fact, such sentence simply brings the martyrdom they seek in the eyes of those whom they endeavor to mislead.

"I may add, in conclusion, that the practice in the department in all cases where fraud orders or similar orders of the Postmaster General are made is that a finding of the facts before the department is made up by the solicitor for the department and form a part of the record of the case and are made a part of the order of the Postmaster General, all of which are available to the interested parties for use in the courts or otherwise.

"The theory underlying fraud, lottery, and other similar statutes is that the matter prevented from being carried in the mails is against public policy. If the practice of a fraud which only affects a few individuals is against public policy, how much more against public policy is the circulation of matter which in time of war strikes at the very heart of the Republic? And why should not all use of the mails be prohibited to one engaged in such undertaking?

"Very truly yours,

"W. H. LAMAR, *Solicitor.*"

"Mr. FLETCHER. There is need of this legislation, Mr. President. It began, if I may be permitted to trace briefly its history, in a very innocent sort of way. It was suggested by the Department of Justice, because we had inadvertently overlooked in the original act, approved June 15, 1917, the language found in section 3 of the pending measure, which applies to 'causing or attempting to cause insubordination, disloyalty, mutiny, or refusal of duty.'

"In the next portion of that section we use the language—
" 'or shall willfully obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States to the injury of the service of the United States—'

"Omitting the words 'or attempt to obstruct.'

"Cases arose where it was difficult to prove an actual obstruction to the recruiting or enlistment, but there was an effort made to obstruct. Attempts were made. The intention was there. The purpose was there. The motive was there. Everything which the law condemned was there, but it did not actually result in preventing or obstructing the enlistment or the recruiting. Now, we had overlooked the use of those words 'or attempt' to do these things. We used them in the first part of section 3 of the original act, and omitted them in this part of the section. They are absolutely necessary words. So that this measure was proposed in the House in order to cure that defect; and you will find, referring now to section 3, that about all that was added in the original bill was this language in line 15:

" 'Or shall willfully obstruct or willfully attempt to obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States.'

"That was primarily the purpose of the bill when it was introduced. It came to the Senate, was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary, and there certain amendments were offered; and the amendment reported by the committee, which is numbered 5, and some others were agreed to in the Senate. There was an added amendment, numbered 6, offered by the Senator from Maryland (Mr. France) in the Senate.

"The House disagreed to these amendments, and asked for a conference. We agreed to the conference, and the conferees then took up the measure. The House conferees were willing to accept the Senate amendment numbered 4, provided we struck out the useless words—I regard them as useless—'or discourage' as they appear in lines 15 and 16, so as to leave the act:

" 'Or shall willfully obstruct or willfully attempt to obstruct the recruiting or enlistment service of the United States.'

"There is no use in using the words 'discourage or attempt to discourage,' as we conceived; and we agreed with the House conferees upon that proposition. They agreed to the other amendments proposed and adopted in the Senate, with the addition in line 23 of page 4 of the words I have just mentioned:

" 'When the United States is at war the Postmaster General may—'

"And so forth. They insisted upon disagreeing to amendment numbered 6, which is the matter offered by the Senator from Maryland, in this language:

" 'Provided, however, That nothing in this act shall be construed as limiting the liberty or impairing the right of any individual to publish or speak what is true, with good motives, and for justifiable ends.'

"The Senate conferees were obliged to yield on that amendment; and the report comes here practically with that the only change made in the action of the Senate—the omission of that proviso from the bill—if the conference report is agreed to.

"The effect of such a proviso in this measure would be to place upon the Government the burden of proving what? Either one of these offenses mentioned in amendment numbered 5, for instance, that the defendant did—

"willfully utter, print, write, or publish any disloyal, profane, scurrilous, contemptuous, or abusive language about the form of government of the United States, or the Constitution of the United States, or the military or naval forces of the United States."

"You not only must prove that as a fact beyond a reasonable doubt in order to secure a conviction, but, if the defendant is permitted to set up as a defense that what he said was true, and was said with good motives and for justifiable ends, then the Government must meet that, and carry the burden of proving beyond a reasonable doubt not only that these things were uttered which the language of the law condemns, but that they were not true, that they were not uttered with good motives, nor were they uttered for justifiable ends. Therefore, in order to secure a conviction under this act, the Government would have to establish not only that the defendant did or said the things that are condemned by the act, but, in addition, beyond a reasonable doubt, that those things were not true that he said or did, that they were not said or done with good motives, and that they were not said or done for justifiable ends.

The court would be obliged to instruct the jury, if requested by the defendant—as of course it would be—that the burden was on the Government to establish not only the fact that the defendant uttered this contemptuous, abusive, or profane language regarding the Government or the flag or the military or naval forces of the United States, but that what he said was not true, and was not uttered with good motives or for justifiable ends. I think if you put this provision in the law you will impose upon the Government the additional burden not only of proving the facts denounced in the bill but of proving that they were not true, and that they were not uttered with good motives and for justifiable ends. It hampers the Government. It gives the defendant the opportunity of coming into court with a plea under which he can exploit his views, under which he can read extracts from various authors by way of establishing the truth of what he has said, and by way of undertaking to justify the ends which he aimed to accomplish and the motives which prompted him."

At the end of the debate a vote was taken, the France amendment was rejected, and the bill was passed. It was later signed by the President and became law. It is generally known as the Disloyalty Act or the Amended Espionage Act in distinction from the previous Espionage Act.

This new law is admittedly a dangerous weapon, but so is a rifle or a cannon. Like them, this law is a military arm intended for defense against our enemies. The Department of Justice, which desired the law, may be trusted to wield it with caution. It has

been keenly alive to the importance of deserving its right to the word "Justice," and the public in general feels as safe in entrusting it with this weapon as in arming our soldiers. One of the leading jurists in the Department of Justice has made this comment on the amended Espionage Act:

"In prosecutions for propaganda justice to the defendant is as important as any other consideration. Any failure of our Government to produce justice to persons accused of disloyalty or sedition, is just as dangerous, if not more dangerous, to our fighting strength as a nation than propaganda itself. Jurors are impartial triers of fact, not prosecutors, and there is but one way in which they can legitimately fight propaganda, and that is to base their verdicts upon the facts of the case before them and the law as laid down by the court.

"The strength of the Espionage Act is remarkable; some of our most loyal citizens feel that it is too strong. But in the end its strength, its endurance, its effectiveness will come from the fact that it preserves our constitutional right of free speech while at the same time furnishing a weapon against that which is essentially hostile propaganda.

"Once suggest to the courts that the proper policy and the purpose of the Espionage Act are to suspend, under the exigency of war, the constitutional right of free speech, and the power of the Espionage Act will be gone; for no courts will enforce such an idea and American juries will not for a long time enforce such an idea.

"There never has been the right by speech to obstruct the carrying out of the policies of the Government, and the Espionage Law does not suspend any constitutional right of free speech. Herein lies its strength.

"In my opinion, next to President Wilson and the Selective Service Act, the confidence of the people in the administration of justice between the Government and the individual by the Federal courts, is the strongest cementing or unifying force that we have. Administering justice according to law is the special contribution of the courts to the war."

RÉSUMÉ.

Voluminous as this discussion of German propaganda has been, it gives merely a hint of its magnitude and infinite variety. One might feel a sense of profound admiration for the thoroughness and minuteness of its conduct, were not one so revolted by its unscrupulous contempt for truth, dignity, or mercy. It reveals a frightful eagerness to lie, a degenerate rapture in viciousness that can not be matched in history. The policy of ruthlessness stops at nothing from pin pricks to wholesale assassination.

But despicable as it is in spirit and in achievement, it is a further evidence of an imperial determination to rule everywhere at all costs, and its menace demands eternal vigilance. The first manifestations of it, the first experimental reconnaissances and raids must be met at every point and checked or they will develop into disasters.

In fighting a war as in fighting any other duel or meeting any other assault, the aggressor selects the time and the place, dictates the weapons and the modes of attack. The defendant must adopt such means of protection as will meet the attack. Any hesitancy or any delicacy may be fatal. Any treachery at home must be instantly crushed. It is furthermore vitally necessary as soon as possible, and as vigorously as possible, to take the aggressive away from the aggressor and create new weapons and better stratagems.

In literal confirmation of the thesis of this book that propaganda is one of the munitions of war, the papers of July 7, 1918, contain accounts of the American methods of shooting our propaganda into the German lines from rifles.

Mr. James Kerney, director of the Franco-American Committee of Public Information, thus describes some of the devices:

"Paris, July 7.—Thousands of specially devised rifles for sending propaganda over the enemy lines now are in use in the allied armies. From these rifles grenades are discharged, by means of which tracts and pamphlets may be scattered along enemy trenches with considerable exactitude at a range of more than 200 yards.

"For greater distances small balloons made of cloth are used. Each of these lifts twenty pounds of propaganda literature and by means of a mechanical device drops a quarter-pound of these documents at fifteen-minute intervals. The radius of action of these balloons in a 25-mile wind would be Hamburg, Berlin, Vienna and Trieste. The balloons travel at a height of from 6,000 to 8,000 feet.

"Paper balloons capable of lifting four pounds also are used by the American army for the purpose of distributing literature

in trenches and enemy billets for distances up to 100 miles from the starting point. These balloons drop a half-pound of material at five-minute intervals. They use a fuse release, consisting of a slow-burning match, which is consumed at the rate of 1 inch every five minutes. The first release is effected five minutes after starting to make sure of compensating the balloon for the loss of gas.

"The latest devices are planned to employ clockwork for their releasing mechanism, and the use of trench mortars, with a cardboard projectile containing literature, is being considered for the future.

"Airplanes are used occasionally for this purpose, but there are many objections to their employment."

It has been found necessary in this war, as elsewhere, to meet the enemy with his own weapons and better them if possible—gas with gas, fire with fire, barrage with counter barrage, and propaganda with counter propaganda.

The American weapon is superior here because it is loaded with truth instead of lies; it fights for freedom and not for autocracy. Therefore the Germans have issued an order punishing with death the retention by their soldiers of any examples of American or Allied propaganda.

The old saying, "*Inter arma silent leges*," applies in the present war peculiarly. Among the most precious laws of our country are those guaranteeing freedom of thought and speech, but if the country falls before an enemy that has long denied its own people freedom of thought and speech, of what value will the constitutional privileges be when the Constitution is overthrown?

Germany has selected as one of her deadliest weapons the great engine of propaganda. It can only be defeated by the defeat of German propagandists and all their conscious or unconscious confederates, wherever they are met, at home or abroad, under whatsoever disguises.

After the war is over it will be easy to restore the comforts and privileges of peace. But during the war, while millions of our people are facing death on land and sea, and surrendering their treasure, their liberty and their precious lives, the activity of those who in any way imperil or diminish or delay our success is and can only be a form of military cooperation with our enemy.

German propaganda, like German secret service, was organized and has been conducted with a forehandedness and magnitude unequalled by any other nation. The Espionage Act furnished only a partial defense. Indeed the Judges seemed hardly to realize what a weapon propaganda really was, and how dangerous. Their charges to the juries rarely mentioned the word.

Propaganda has been and is being carried on with an ingenuity, energy, and ubiquity inconceivable to one who does not receive daily reports of the endless forms it takes and the remote centers in which it breaks out. No class of people is too humble to reach, nor any community. The whole world is under such propagation, and the motives and achievements of the United States are belied in every respect.

In close cooperation with the agents of Germany, and American citizens of German sympathy, are numerous factions cooperating with them more or less unconsciously. These range from the peace-at-any-price men and the advocates of dubiously sincere religious doctrines to the anti-social socialists, the anarchists and the fanatics who would rather risk their liberty altogether than sacrifice liberties in detail to the discipline necessary to this crisis.

A few American authors in Europe and many in this country do their utmost to discredit America. Publishers of books masquerade propaganda under works of pretended realism which omit all the realism of nobility and sacrifice, and present only the discouraging or disgusting phases of war. Newspapers mix with headlines of blatant jingoism articles tending to embroil us with our Allies or to convince us of our hopeless inefficiency. Pamphlets and posters and stickers denounce the war as a capitalists' struggle for their investments and proclaim our soldiers slaves. Rumor mongers carry on "whispering propaganda," torturing the people at home with lies about disasters to our soldiers and frightful immoralities in our camps and among the Red Cross nurses. Every effort is made to confuse the difference between individual shortcomings and a general breakdown of our efforts.

Ruthless criticism of our officials is spread among foreign countries to destroy our prestige abroad, and the foreign born soldiers are the victims of tireless schemes to create dissension and distrust. The negroes are fed with lies. Liberty Bond and War Savings Stamps sales and Red Cross subscriptions are hampered in numberless ways.

The Department of Justice and the Postal Department are showing an indefatigable enthusiasm and cooperation with the other agencies of the Government, but a law with teeth in it was essential in order that German and American incendiaries by propaganda may be run down and punished before their fireworks get beyond control.

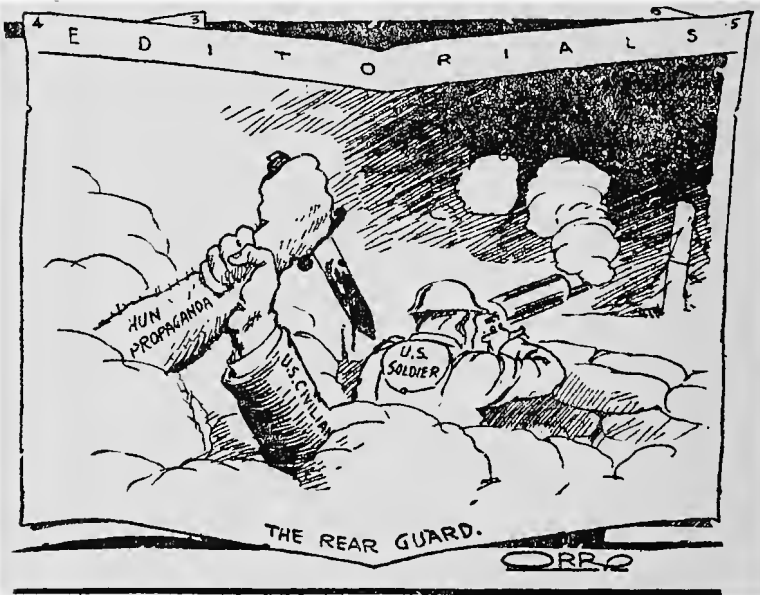
The Disloyalty Act was a vital necessity, and the result of bitter

experience. It arms the authorities with a very powerful weapon. But the public must be kept alive to its own duty to recognize propaganda and combat it in its numberless forms from idle rumor to ingenious publication. Jurors, while not forgetting their sacred obligations to be just, must realize that they are doing war service in fighting propaganda.

Its military importance could not be more vigorously expressed than in the appeal for cooperation credited to General Pershing:

"I will smash the German line in France, if you will smash the damnable Hun propaganda at home."

Illustrations Showing Examples of Pictorial Propaganda



A GRAPHIC PRESENTATION OF THE MILITARY MEANING OF PROPAGANDA AND ITS SUPPRESSION.

(From a cartoon by Orr, in the Chicago Tribune, June 14, 1918.)

presented to them as truth—they must 'try the spirits,' whether they be holy or evil, of God or of the Evil One—the Spirit of Truth or the spirit of error. These both are introduced by prophets, or teachers."—E320, 295.

[Like] AS IT WERE frogs.—Frogs are garrulous, have a very wise look, large mouths, are much puffed up and utter only croakings. In the "distress of nations with perplexity" which has come upon Christendom as a result of her sins, the croakings of the wise now fill the air everywhere. Actually all knees are "weak as water."—Ezek. 7:17; 21:7. See especially D i-xvi.

Come out of the mouth of the dragon.—The three fundamental truths of history are man's Fall, Redemption and Restoration. Stated in other language these three truths are the mortal nature of man, the Christ of God and His Millennial Kingdom. Standing opposite to these Satan has placed three great untruths, human immortality, the Antichrist and a certain delusion which is best described by the word Patriotism, but which is in reality murder, the spirit of the very Devil. It is this last and crowning feature of Satan's work that is mentioned first. The other two errors are the direct cause of this one. The wars of the Old Testament were all intended to illustrate the battlings of the New Creature against the weaknesses of the flesh, and are not in any sense of the word justification for the human butchery which has turned the earth into a slaughter-house. Nowhere in the New Testament is Patriotism (a narrow-minded hatred of other peoples) encouraged. Everywhere and always murder in its every form is forbidden; and yet, under the guise of Patriotism the civil governments of earth demand of peace-loving men the sacrifice of themselves and their loved ones and the butchery of their fellows, and hail it as a duty demanded by the laws of heaven.

"Everybody of importance in the early years of the twentieth century was an ardent champion of peace. A crowd of royal peacemakers in a world surcharged with thoughts and threats of war, a band of lovers strolling down an avenue which they themselves had lined with lyddite shells and twelve-inch guns. Prince Bulow, Sir Henry Campbell-Bannermann, Mr. H. H. Asquith, Mr. John Hay, and Mr. Elihu Root, pacific in temper, eloquent in their advocacy of the cause of international good will, were a galaxy of peace-loving statesmen under a sky black with the thunder-clouds of war. English and German papers were discussing invasions, and the need of increased armaments, at the very time that twenty thousand Germans in Berlin were applauding to the echo the friendly greetings

A PAGE FROM "THE FINISHED MYSTERY."

(Note the allusions to Patriotism.)

has Europe discovered that it was a Song of Death.

But has she discovered it? We fear the truth is only just beginning to dawn. France at any rate does not yet perceive that she is being bled to death for the sake of England, who employs her to-day against Germany, even as she employed Germany against Louis XIV and Napoleon in former centuries. France, Belgium, Russia, Italy, are to-day England's instruments. By means of them does she hope to destroy Germany and Austria-Hungary; but she also hopes that by destroying these, they will have eo ipso destroyed themselves. The whole of Europe will thus be drained to the last drop of blood, exhausted, ruined; and on those ruins will England's trade flourish anew. The harvest reaped as the result of the Napoleonic wars will be reaped again.

Such was England's calculation. It was a mistaken one. For the first time in her history since the Elizabethan period, England has miscalculated her chances. Grievously miscalculated them! Germany has to-day assumed the glorious task of liberating the world from the clutches of the British parasite. She it is who continues the great mission of Napoleon, who takes up the sword dropped by him, and which France, unfortunately, is to-day unwilling to wield. In this great war everyone must take his part — for it is a struggle between light and darkness, between truth and lies, between manly vigor and parasitical cowardice, between civilisation and

“THE VAMPIRE OF THE CONTINENT.”

(A page from the preface to the American edition.)

VARGAS VILA

Ante los Bárbaros

(LOS ESTADOS UNIDOS Y LA GUERRA)



"AGAINST THE BARBARIANS, THE YANKEE—THERE'S THE ENEMY!"

(The cover of an anti-American book published in Barcelona.)



Un accidente inesperado.
(AN UNFORESEEN ACCIDENT)



—¿Y tantas cosas, con qué se hacen?
—Con aire.

(AND SO MANY THINGS, —WITH WHAT
ARE THEY PRODUCED? WITH AIR.)

PRO-GERMAN SPANISH POST CARDS SHOWING THE DEFECTION OF RUSSIA AND AMERICA'S EMPTY BOASTS

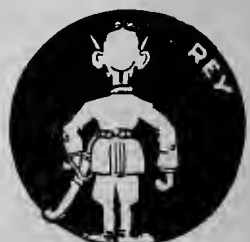


God



Country

SPANISH GERMANOPHILE PROPAGANDA
From Campana de Gracia (Barcelona)



King

THE KAISER AS GOD, KING AND COUNTRY

(A Spanish Pro-Ally View of Spanish Pro-German Propaganda)

Los defensores de los débiles.



INDEPENDENT - F. HASE

Su primera gran victoria.

"THE DEFENDERS OF THE WEAK. THEIR FIRST GREAT VICTORY."

(A page from a pro-German comic paper published in Spanish. The prostrate figure represents Greece.)

